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FORT ST. CHARLES AND THE NORTHWEST ANGLE¹

The northern boundary of Minnesota from Lake Superior westward runs through a tangle of lakes, rivers, and portages. When it reaches the largest of all the lakes separating this state from Canada it suddenly leaps northwestward. Through the Lake of the Woods it threads its way past numerous islands, graciously leaving some on the American side and others on the Canadian, until it approaches a long narrow inlet, where it veers westward, dividing the inlet in two. At the innermost point on the inlet, the boundary line, abandoning a course that is determined in some fashion by topography and water routes, turns southward and runs straight down to the forty-ninth parallel. Having reached that famous line, it abruptly swings west and follows it to the Pacific Coast.

To return to the inlet in the Lake of the Woods, the land on its north side is Canadian, while that on the south side is American. The American territory is separated from the rest of the United States by Buffalo Bay, a southwestern projection of the lake. This isolated bit of land, comprising about a hundred and fifty square miles, is the Northwest Angle. That this Angle should be American rather than Canadian provokes endless curiosity among those who scan the map of Minnesota, but the explanation is simple. It

¹ An address given on June 19, 1937, at the Roseau session of the fifteenth state historical convention held under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society. The writer is indebted to Mr. Lewis Beeson for assistance in assembling the materials upon which the paper is based.

goes back to the treaty of 1783, which provided that the boundary from Lake Superior was to follow the line of water communication to the Lake of the Woods, run through that lake to its northwestern point, and then follow a course due west to the Mississippi River. Geography in this instance outwitted diplomacy, for the Mississippi was conspicuously absent from the region west of the Lake of the Woods. In 1797-98 David Thompson definitely proved that the Mississippi rose considerably south of the Lake of the Woods. After the Louisiana Purchase it was suggested by Americans that the boundary, instead of engaging in a futile pursuit of the Mississippi, should run along the forty-ninth parallel, and this practical proposal was adopted in the Convention of 1818, with the proviso that a boundary line should be drawn due south from the Northwest Angle point to the forty-ninth parallel. In 1824 and 1825, the Northwest Angle Inlet was selected as the northwest point of the Lake of the Woods, and this selection was confirmed by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842. The minutiae of surveys and the disposition of minor boundary problems could be worked out only over a long period of time—with important decisions coming as recently as 1872, 1908, and 1925. On one point, however, there could be no possible dispute: when the line south to the forty-ninth parallel was surveyed, it was evident that a projection of the lake cut off from the rest of the United States the slice of land south of the inlet.

It was on the south side of the inlet separating Canada from the United States, on what is now American and Minnesota soil, that La Vérendrye and his associates built Fort St. Charles more than two hundred years ago. The Northwest Angle is no mere geographic curiosity; it has a deep historical interest and will always occupy an important place in the story of the early Northwest. Here was a central point for vast plans, a depot on a pre-pioneer route of trade

and travel; with this fort are intertwined the dreams and hopes of a great French explorer and fur-trader; from this spot were projected a series of far-flung posts; this was the base for ambitious expeditions toward the unknown West; on these waters sped the canoes of hardy voyageurs; to this fort came courageous wilderness priests; on an island of this lake occurred one of the darkest tragedies of French-Canadian history; in this region were enacted the last scenes in the drama of the French regime in the American Northwest.

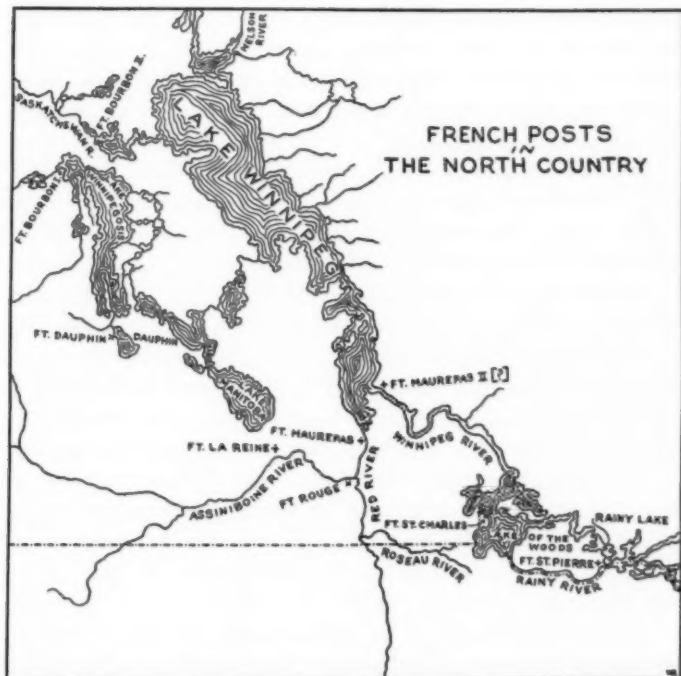
In order to understand those last scenes, one should recall, if only for a moment, the larger story of the French in the West, a story which for Minnesota alone has a sweep of more than a century. In the dim background of the seventeenth century, only a couple of decades after Jean Nicolet's epoch-making journey in 1634 to Lake Michigan, we glimpse in the Middle West the daring international traders, Radisson and Groseilliers. In 1673 Jolliet and Marquette floated down the Mississippi and within six or seven years the explorer-statesman Du Lhut pushed westward from Lake Superior to Mille Lacs, dreaming of finding a way to the Vermillion Sea, and Father Hennepin, emissary of the mighty La Salle, came northward from the Illinois country and discovered the Falls of St. Anthony. Close on their heels came Perrot, builder of Fort St. Antoine on the Wisconsin side of Lake Pepin, and Le Sueur, who just at the close of the seventeenth century established Fort L'Huillier, mined blue earth, and collected beaver skins in the heart of the Minnesota country. An interlude of more than a quarter of a century separates Le Sueur from the eighteenth-century enterprises in the Minnesota Northwest, but in 1727 La Perrière ventured into the upper Mississippi country to build Fort Beauharnois, and four years later La Vérendrye made his bold plunge into the hinterland of Lake Superior. It was a period of revived French in-

terest in exploration, and both men were looking for a way to the shores washed by the Pacific.

Indeed, La Vérendrye seems to have derived his inspiration from tales of western rivers told him by Indians at his Lake Nipigon post, notably by a certain Auchagah, who had journeyed a considerable distance into the West and had picked up rumors of a river that emptied its waters into a great salt sea and of armor-clad men who rode on horses. La Vérendrye believed that the tale contained some truth and he persuaded Auchagah to draw a map on birchbark tracing the route of his travels beyond Lake Superior. This map he sent to Beauharnois, the governor of New France, and in 1730 he saw the governor personally and disclosed his ambition to make an expedition to the sea of the West. He asked for money, supplies, and a hundred men. The governor approved the plan and forwarded to Versailles a request for its authorization.

Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de la Vérendrye, was then forty-five years old and had already had a varied career. He was born in New France in 1685, at Three Rivers, where his father was governor and his mother's father, Pierre Boucher, had been governor, and when he was only twelve years old he entered the army. In his twenties he went to France and there in 1709 he fought and was wounded at Malplaquet, the decisive battle of the War of the Spanish Succession. A few years later he returned to Canada and became an officer of a colonial regiment. He married Marie-Anne Dandonneau du Sablé, a daughter of the Sieur de l'Ile du Pas, in 1712 and had four sons—Jean Baptiste, Pierre, François, and Louis Joseph—all of whom ultimately came to Fort St. Charles. These boys were growing up at the time La Vérendrye was placed in charge of the fur-trading post on Lake Nipigon.

The king's reply at length arrived from France. It proved disappointing, for, although Louis XV authorized a



western expedition, he was unwilling to make a grant for its expenses. He did promise La Vérendrye a monopoly of the fur trade beyond Lake Superior. The governor in fact had already given him a similar assurance, and this enabled him to get financial support from a number of Montreal merchants interested less in exploration than in beavers. So in June, 1731, the veteran of Malplaquet had started from Montreal for the West with his three eldest sons, his nephew La Jemeraye, and a party of about fifty soldiers and voyageurs. At Michilimackinac the expedition was joined by a Jesuit priest, Father Mesaiger, and on August 26 the canoes carrying the Frenchmen landed at Grand Portage

on the north Superior shore. La Vérendrye, facing a mutiny among his men, who were reluctant to push into the unknown hinterland of the Great Lakes, took most of them north to spend the winter at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River, while La Jemeraye, with one of La Vérendrye's sons, one voyageur, and a guide, crossed the portage to the Pigeon River and made his way as far as the western end of Rainy Lake, where he built Fort St. Pierre, naming it in honor of La Vérendrye. The next summer, in 1732, the commander joined the men at Rainy Lake and then, with his followers and an escort of fifty Indian canoes, struck out for the Lake of the Woods, where he established Fort St. Charles. This was the second in a chain of French forts that was ultimately to include Fort Maurepas, at the mouth of the Red River; Fort Rouge, at the junction of the Red and Assiniboine rivers, where much later the metropolis of the Canadian Northwest was to be built; Fort La Reine, some distance up the Assiniboine; and Forts Dauphin and Bourbon, erected by La Vérendrye's sons in the Saskatchewan country.

Fort St. Charles was named in honor of the Canadian governor, Charles de la Boische, Marquis de Beauharnois, for whom another Minnesota post, that of Fort Beauharnois on Lake Pepin, also was named. The fort on the Lake of the Woods was surrounded by palisades—a double row of spruce, aspen, and oak stakes from twelve to fifteen feet high. The east and west sides of the enclosure measured a hundred feet long; the other two sides, sixty. There were two gates, one on the north side, which faced the lake, the other on the south, giving access to the neighboring forest; and there was also a watchtower. Inside the enclosure were houses for the commandant and the missionary, a chapel, four main buildings, a powder magazine, and a storehouse. La Vérendrye's lodgings and the quarters for his men were evidently toward the rear of the fort, away from

the lake. The chapel seems to have occupied much of the west side, with the priest's house in front of and to the north of it. The storehouse probably was near the gate leading to the lake. The establishment as a whole was somewhat smaller than Fort Beauharnois. One of the Frenchmen stationed at Fort St. Charles described it as "but an enclosure," inside which were "a few huts of square logs, calked with earth and covered with bark."

The records leave no doubt that the fort was frequently the scene of much bustle and activity. In the spring of 1733 La Jemeraye got ready to journey to Quebec to report upon the progress that had been made and to obtain fresh supplies. Three canoes were filled with furs collected during the winter and were sent to Lake Superior. These canoes returned in August laden with merchandise. As many as a hundred and fifty canoes arrived at the fort in one day, each carrying two or three Indians and loaded with meat, buffalo fat, bear oil, wild rice, and other things to trade. One day some three hundred warriors stopped on their way to attack the Chippewa of Madeline Island, and the next day five hundred more came on an expedition against the prairie Sioux. After forts were established to the west and north, men were dispatched from Fort St. Charles with supplies and merchandise for these newer posts, or returned with furs to be packed for the journey eastward to Montreal.

Let us look in on a trading council held at Fort St. Charles with a party of Cree and Assiniboin Indians in the winter of 1733-34. When the Indians arrived they saluted with three volleys the French flag that was flying over the fort, to which La Vérendrye and the twenty Frenchmen who were with him replied. Then the chiefs were allowed to enter the fort, where mutual compliments were paid and they were given tobacco and provisions. The next day the Indians presented the Frenchmen with gifts of beaver skins

and about a hundred pounds of buffalo meat, and they in turn were given a sack of corn and a large supply of tobacco. "My children," the white leader said to them, "I will tell you tomorrow what are our Father's orders to me regarding you, and shall let you know his will."

On the next day, New Year's Day, 1734, the Indians thronged into the fort at ten o'clock in the morning. The Frenchmen had placed at the center of the grounds thirty pounds of tobacco, forty pounds of bullets, two hundred gunflints, twenty axes, sixty knives, sixty ramrods, sixty awls, and supplies of glass beads, needles, and vermillion. Before distributing these gifts, however, La Vérendrye made a speech. The great chief of the Frenchmen, he said, would be glad to learn of the Indians' visit. The French were numerous, there was no land unknown to them, they had only one chief, and La Vérendrye was his mouthpiece. If the Indians obeyed this chief, he would send many Frenchmen each year to satisfy their needs; but they in turn must bring in plenty of skins in exchange. The next day La Vérendrye again entertained the chiefs, giving them cloaks, shirts, breeches, leggins, powder and shot, axes, daggers, knives, hatchets, beads, and flags. Incidentally, he asked them if they had any knowledge of iron and was interested when one of them said he knew of several places where iron could be found.

This scene discloses La Vérendrye in the role of a negotiator and trader. But he was also a farmer, perhaps the first white farmer in Minnesota. The fort had been established with an eye not only to trade, but also to fishing and hunting, the availability of wild rice, and good land. The Frenchmen cleared the land the first year by burning. Abundant wild rice enabled them to save their corn for seeding. They planted corn and peas, and of the latter La Vérendrye reported a harvest of ten bushels for one of seed. He also made some effort to teach the Indians to



LA VÉRENDRYE
[A statue, by Jan Bailleul, at Quebec.]



JEAN BAPTISTE LA VÉRENDRYE, FATHER AULNEAU, AND VOYAGEURS LEAVING FORT ST. CHARLES IN 1736
[From a drawing by E. M. Brunet, published by courtesy of Father Antoine d'Eschambault of St. Boniface, Manitoba.]

sow corn. But with all his care, life at the fort was precarious. Heavy rains in 1733 damaged the wild rice crop and that autumn La Vérendye sent ten men to the other side of the lake with tools to build a shelter at the mouth of a river and with nets for fishing. The fishing was excellent. That fall the men caught more than four thousand whitefish, not to speak of trout, sturgeon, and other varieties of fish. They returned to Fort St. Charles on May 2, 1734, after the ice had melted, having lived during a northern winter on the food furnished them by lake and country. The problem of food was not the only serious one that faced white men in the primitive West. Sometimes there must have been grave danger from forest fires. Jean-Pierre Aulneau, a young Jesuit missionary who went out to Fort St. Charles in 1735 to take the place of Father Mesaiger, thus described his trip from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods: "I journeyed nearly all the way through fire and a thick stifling smoke, which prevented us from even once catching a glimpse of the sun."

In 1734 La Vérendye, worried over his debts and the demands of his creditors, journeyed the long way to Montreal and Quebec to re-enlist their support and to report to the governor. He returned to Fort St. Charles with his youngest son, Louis Joseph, the following year. Early in 1736 he suffered a great loss in the death from exposure of his nephew La Jemeraye, and before the year was over an even heavier blow fell upon him. Provisions, goods, and powder ordered by La Vérendye in Montreal the previous year had not yet arrived at the fort. They were badly needed, and the commander decided to send three well-manned canoes to meet the brigade that was on its way west. The plan was to secure some of the supplies and to hurry back to the fort with them. Jean, the explorer's eldest son, was selected to lead this relief expedition. He took with him Father Aulneau and nineteen voyageurs.

Not long after leaving the fort the members of this party beached their canoes on an island in the Lake of the Woods. Here they were surprised by a large Sioux war party, looking for revenge upon the French for maintaining friendly relations with their own bitter enemies, the Cree and Assiniboin, and all the white men were killed and beheaded. The course of this terrible tragedy we can only imagine—perhaps a seemingly friendly arrival of the enemy, masking treachery, or possibly a stealthy approach that caught the Frenchmen unawares, then the sudden attack, the blood-curdling yells, a spirited defense, finally stillness. Eventually La Vérendrye learned what had happened, and his heart was heavy with grief. "I have lost my son, the Reverend Father, and my Frenchmen, misfortunes which I shall lament all my life," he said. Later he had the bodies of his son and the priest and the skulls of the voyageurs buried beneath the chapel of Fort St. Charles. He had the fort itself rebuilt and "put in such a condition that four men could defend it against a hundred." There was no thought of giving it up, but the next spring the garrison of Fort Beauharnois on Lake Pepin was withdrawn by its commander, St. Pierre, because of the increasing hostility of the Sioux, who were gloating over their trophies from the North. The tragic affair on the island in the Lake of the Woods thus compelled the abandonment of the French post on the upper Mississippi.

We usually think of the voyageurs who served La Vérendrye as nameless, but it is interesting to know that in Montreal are preserved copies of the engagements that they made with him and his business associates before they departed for the post of "Winnipeg" in the North—that is, Fort St. Charles. The Minnesota Historical Society has transcripts of no fewer than twenty-one of these documents from 1731. They give us such names as Jacques La Vallée, Paul Chevalier, François Provanché, Joseph De

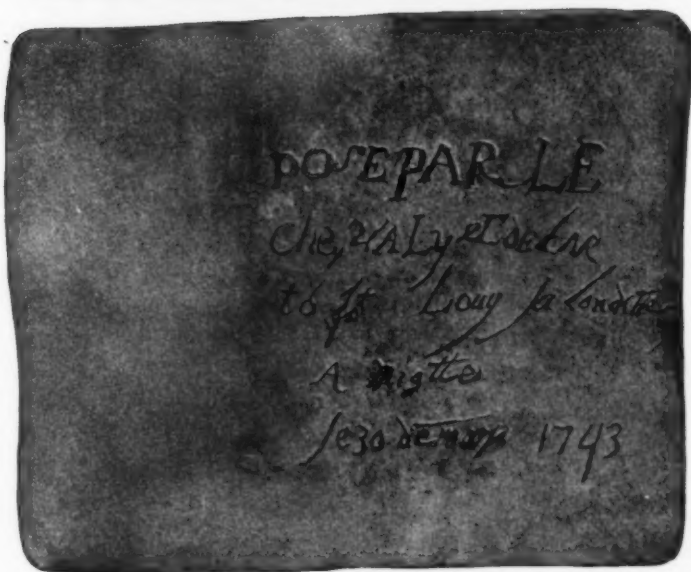
Laurier, Pierre Le Boeuf, Roc Touin, Antoine Millet, and Jean Baptiste Renaud, as well as the terms and conditions of their employment. A typical agreement called for a year's service at a compensation of five hundred livres payable in beaver skins after the return of the engagé, who promised to help in "going up and coming back," to paddle canoes, to transport merchandise and furs, to be obedient and faithful, and not to leave without the consent of his employers. Let us give an honored place in the story of Fort St. Charles to the French-Canadian voyageurs—gay of heart, bright of dress, superbly skilled in the art of handling the *canot d'écorce*, singers of "A la claire fontaine" and other ballads, pioneers of western waters. They have earned it, for they manned the canoes that carried explorers and fur traders into the heart of the inland empire, they built the fort itself, and nineteen of them died alongside the commandant's son and the Jesuit father in that bloody hour on Massacre Island.

When in 1737 La Vérendrye revisited Montreal—a journey of two months and eighteen days—he was pressed by the governor to forward his exploration of the farther West. The governor in turn was urged on by the impatient colonial minister in France, Count Maurepas, who evidently believed that La Vérendrye had succumbed to the lure of beaver skins. The truth seems to be that La Vérendrye had never forgotten his ambition to find the western sea, but he clearly regarded the expansion of the power of New France as fundamental, a first essential. He would set up new trading posts, win the loyalty of the Indians, increase French trade at the expense of the English in the North, establish a firm base for an advance to the mountains and sea of the Far West. It must not be forgotten that from the first he had in effect been left by the government to shift for himself in his western enterprise, to make his way without government funds. He was obliged by every cir-

cumstance to take a realistic view of the problems that confronted him in the wilderness.

Upon his return to the West in 1738 La Vérendrye made his famous journey to the land of the Mandan Indians in the Missouri River country, taking with him two of his sons and a large party of voyageurs and traders. His reports give an interesting picture of the Mandan. He found them to be industrious, living in spacious dwellings, making excellent wickerwork, using earthen vessels, and "great eaters . . . eager for feasts." Every day, he said, they brought him "more than twenty dishes" of corn, beechnuts, and pumpkins, "always cooked." He was especially impressed by their cellars, "where they store all they have in the way of grains, meat, fat, dressed skins and bearskins." Before he returned to Fort La Reine, which was now the French base in the West, he instructed two of his men to remain behind with the Mandan, and when they rejoined him the next autumn they brought him circumstantial reports, gathered from Indians who had visited the Mandan, of white people living far to the west in towns "near the great Lake the water of which rises and falls and is not good to drink."

Clearly, if the mystery of the sea whose water was not good to drink were to be solved, a more ambitious exploration was called for. It was undertaken in 1742. Unfortunately, however, La Vérendrye himself was unable to join in it, and it was left to two of his sons to conduct it. "On January 1st, 1743," wrote one of them, "we were in sight of the mountains." A few days later they reached the foothills of the mountains—and this was farthest west for the Vérendryes. Most scholars today believe that they reached, not the Rockies, but the Black Hills. When the explorers returned to the Missouri, they deposited an inscribed lead plaque as a record of their journey. A hundred and seventy years later that plaque was picked up by a South Dakota school child who was playing on a hill above



THE LA VÉRENDRYE PLAQUE



MARKER ON THE SITE OF FORT ST. CHARLES

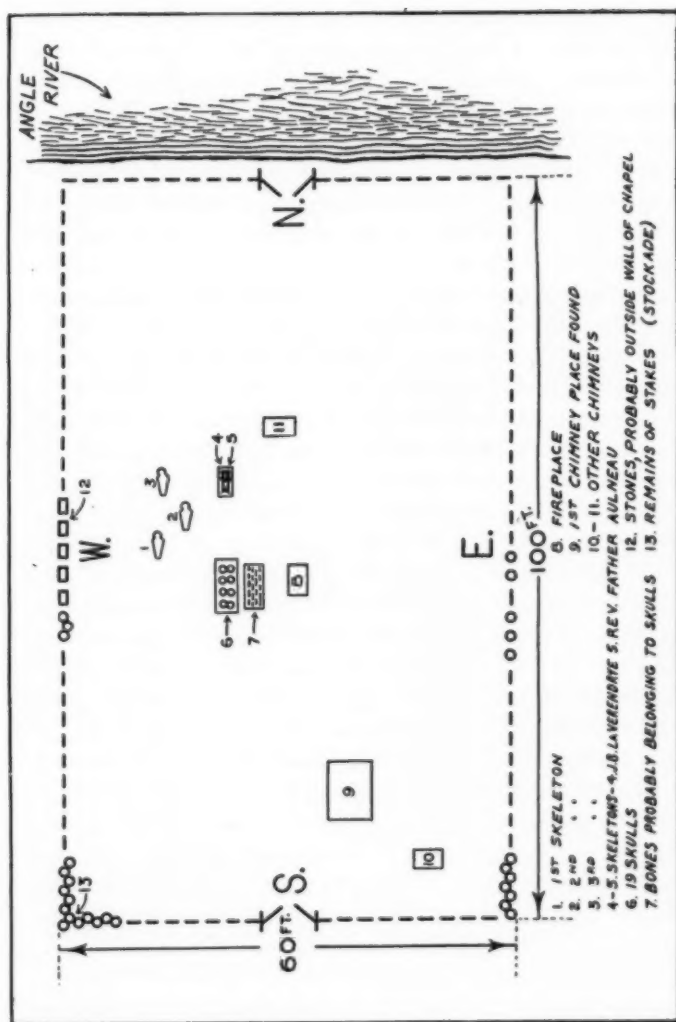
Fort Pierre—a message from the eighteenth to the twentieth century.

Meanwhile, the elder La Vérendrye was keenly alive to the possibility of utilizing the Saskatchewan River approach to the farther West; but he was ill, under the fire of criticism, and burdened with a debt of more than forty thousand livres, and so he was obliged to return again to Quebec. There he found that he still retained the confidence of the governor, but that the skepticism of Maurepas had increased. He was at first denied a merited promotion in military rank and relieved of his position as commandant of the western posts. His achievements spoke for themselves, however, and in 1746 he was promoted to a captaincy. Three years later he won an even higher honor—the coveted Cross of St. Louis. Two of his sons received promotions in the military service and he himself was reinstated as commandant in the West. It was too late, however. He intended to go back to the wilderness in 1750 “to continue the establishment of posts and the exploration of the West,” but the intention was never realized, for on December 5, 1749, at Montreal, he died. He had not discovered the western sea, but, as Beauharnois once said of him, he had given himself “wholly to the task and devoted to it the whole proceeds of the new posts which he established with so much trouble and care and with extreme risk.”

Fort St. Charles had been at first the western capital of the empire that La Vérendrye was carving out in the interior Northwest. After some years it seems to have yielded priority of importance to the newer posts established in the more strategic centers of the Canadian Northwest, but it continued to be a scene of activity until the eve of the British conquest, when it fades from the records. It was undoubtedly the longest occupied French post on Minnesota soil. For how many years the palisades and chapel

and other buildings of the fort escaped the ravages of fire we do not know, but we do know that ultimately they were destroyed. As long ages passed the very site was forgotten. In more modern times, however, the story of Fort St. Charles and other posts of the West began to arouse interest. La Vérendrye himself has been accorded a high place in the history of Canada and the American Northwest; monuments in honor of his achievements have been erected in Quebec, Three Rivers, Winnipeg, and other Canadian cities, as well as at the North Dakota village that bears his name; and his journals and letters have been studied by scholars with great care. Only a few years ago they were published by the Champlain Society in a superb volume edited by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee. In these vivid records the old fort comes to life again, the voyageurs ride western waters, and La Vérendrye himself lives and breathes. Back in 1889 an old man named Alneau told a Jesuit at La Vendée, in France, that his family possessed a package of letters written by a relative, a Jesuit priest, who had been massacred by Indians in North America a hundred and fifty years earlier. Thus was brought to light another important contemporary source of information, the letters of the martyred Jean-Pierre Aulneau. And in 1890 the Jesuits of St. Boniface College, Manitoba, stirred by interest in that priest's life, tried to identify the island on which he was killed. They came to the Lake of the Woods and on an island associated by tradition with the massacre they placed a memorial cross. Later, in 1905, the Archbishop of St. Boniface had excavations made on this island, which is on the Canadian side of the boundary line, in a futile search for relics, and he had a small memorial chapel built.

In 1902 a search had been made for the site of Fort St. Charles. A party from St. Boniface landed on the north shore of the Northwest Angle Inlet and there, at a spot



THE EXCAVATIONS AT FORT ST. CHARLES, 1908

[This plan is based upon a sketch by Father J. Blain, in *Clockes de Saint-Boniface*, 7:229 (September 15, 1908).]

pointed out to them by an Indian chief, they unearthed an old fireplace. This spot they believed to be the site of Fort St. Charles. It was investigated further in 1907, but in 1908 a new expedition under the auspices of the Historical Society of St. Boniface, which had been organized immediately after the discoveries made in 1902, rejected the earlier identification and found the exact spot where the fort had stood. It was on the south, or American, side of the inlet, not on the north. The ruins of a large fireplace were the first discovery. Then, on subsequent days, though the buildings and palisades had long since crumbled away, the fort took shape in the minds of the searchers. Here had stood the chapel, there the priest's house, over there the quarters of the commandant. Remains of the posts which enclosed the fort were found, and buried in the soil were discovered a pair of steel scissors, a carpenter's chisel, a shoe buckle, two iron handles, several knife blades (one with the name "Alice D." on it), a staple for a lock, nails of several kinds, iron rings, beads, and other objects.

But the most dramatic and thrilling find was made at the site of the chapel. There the skeletons of Jean Baptiste de la Vérendrye and of Father Aulneau and the skulls of the massacred voyageurs were found. In all, nineteen skulls and five skeletons were uncovered, two of the latter clearly those of Jean Baptiste and the Jesuit father, for the two had been placed together in a wooden box and bore evidence of wounds and with them was found confirmatory evidence—two keys, another bunch of five keys, a piece of gilt glass, beads such as belong to a rosary, the hook for a priest's cassock, a shoe buckle, a hunting knife, an awl, and a few other objects. It is chastening to be obliged to add that all the material found by the excavators at Fort St. Charles was stored in the old St. Boniface College and lost or destroyed when that building was swept by a devastating fire fifteen years ago. A few bones were indeed found after

the fire, but even these could not certainly be identified with the relics from Fort St. Charles, for nine students and one Jesuit father were burned to death in the fire. Fortunately, however, the finds were recorded in pictures before this disaster occurred, and these pictures, together with a sketch plan of the fort drawn by the Reverend Father Blain, S. J., are reproduced in a valuable bulletin issued by the Historical Society of St. Boniface, supplementing a full report upon the excavation.

Such, in broad outline, is the story of the old French post at the Northwest Angle. Fort St. Charles constitutes a significant and dramatic chapter not only in the history of Minnesota but in that of the entire American and Canadian Northwest, and the post commander is a major figure in the epic of the continent as the discoverer of the vast interior Northwest. It is time for American interest—local, state, and national, perhaps with Canadian co-operation—to express itself through the erection of a permanent historical marker on the site, supplementing the wooden cross very appropriately placed there by the emissaries of the Historical Society of St. Boniface. The area of the site should be re-excavated with a view to acquiring additional detailed information and to building at some future time a replica of the original fort. The fathers of the Catholic church have done a pioneer service to history in making known and acquiring the site. I believe that either the United States or the state of Minnesota, in co-operation with local historical interests, should reserve this spot and an adjacent area for posterity as a permanent park set aside by virtue of its international historical importance. To the central interest of the old French fort is added that of the international boundary and of the water route itself, strategic in the days of the fur trade and in the more modern period of the Dawson land-and-water road from Fort Garry to Port Arthur. Nor must we neglect the scenic and recreational

point of view. The region is in fact a natural park, for Fort St. Charles stood by the waters of a majestic international lake, studded with picturesque islands, its waters teeming with pike, whitefish, and the royal muskellunge, its irregular shores entrancing in their wild beauty. The primeval northern charm of the Lake of the Woods appeals today to Americans and Canadians as, long years ago, it stirred the sons of New France, whose chansons floated across its waves.

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

QUAKERS IN MINNESOTA

The census enumerators who traveled the length and breadth of the newly organized Minnesota Territory in 1850 recorded the presence of six thousand and seventy-seven souls, with three small churches and a few missionaries to care for their spiritual needs. The Catholics, Presbyterians, and Methodists had each established a church of their own. There was no Quaker meeting, nor were there any Friends to form one. But a year later, on the "12th day of Fifth Month 1851," as the Quaker records relate, the "first friend" arrived in St. Anthony. This first Friend was William Winfred Wales, who brought his wife and family from Indiana, although "William was a native of North Carolina."¹ Within ten years there were twenty-five more Quaker families in the twin towns at the Falls of St. Anthony, and Quakerism was well established in Minnesota. A little meetinghouse was built in Minneapolis on Hennepin Avenue at Eighth Street in 1860, and in 1863 there was organized the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting of

¹ Report of a committee appointed in 1861 by the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting of Friends to record its early history, included in the Minutes of Minneapolis Monthly Meeting, 1861-73, p. 11. These manuscript minutes, in the possession of the Friends' Church of Minneapolis, are among the numerous records of the Minneapolis Meeting which were placed at the disposal of the writer for the purposes of this paper. Valuable supplementary information also has been supplied by the custodian of records, Mr. Roscoe C. Coffin, and by other members of the Meeting, including Mr. John E. Worrall, Miss Alice C. Webb, Miss Edith H. Jones, and the pastor, Mr. H. Millard Jones. The suggestions of Mr. Jefferson Jones of the *Minneapolis Journal* and of Mrs. Grayce Wallace of the staff of the historical records survey have been most helpful, as has been Mrs. Wallace's report on the Minneapolis Meeting. The latter is among the papers of the survey, which eventually will be turned over to the Minnesota Historical Society. Where no other authority is given it may be assumed that the facts herein presented have been obtained from the Meeting records or from personal sources.

Friends, under the care of the Red Cedar Quarterly Meeting in Iowa and the Iowa Yearly Meeting.²

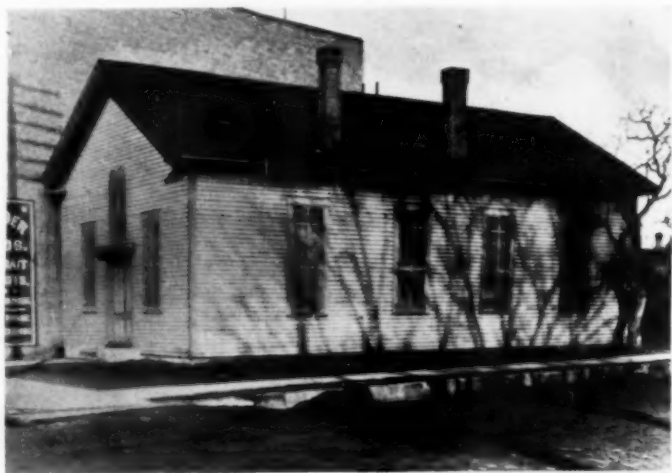
The association of the Minnesota Quakers with those of Iowa was organizational rather than organic, for the Friends who helped to swell the rush of settlers into the Minneapolis neighborhood in the decade of the fifties were from older centers farther east. Six families came from New Hampshire, as did James Bean, the first clerk of the Monthly Meeting. Lindley M. Hoag, a New Hampshire minister, visited Minneapolis in the summer of 1854 and assisted at the first religious meeting held "according to the order of Friends." The following year Joseph H. Canney, one of the New Hampshire immigrants of 1852, opened his home for weekly meetings. The New Englanders were joined by other Friends from Indiana, Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania, and by 1855 they were numerous enough to maintain a regular meeting.

Among this first generation of Minnesota Friends there were several who became community leaders of considerable prominence. Wales, the pioneer, was probably the most active and best known of all. In his first year in St. Anthony he held religious meetings in a hall over a saloon, open to all who wished to come, although he was not formally recognized by the Friends as a minister until many

² In the Society of Friends the "Monthly Meeting" is the basic congregational unit for transacting business, although it may include several "meetings for worship," whose members are sometimes organized as "Preparative Meetings," reporting whatever business they may have to the Monthly Meeting. Monthly Meetings are associated in "Quarterly Meetings," and they in turn in a "Yearly Meeting," an annual assembly of designated representatives of the Quarterly Meetings and any other members who care to attend. Final authority in matters of membership, doctrine, and discipline rests with the Yearly Meeting. The Iowa Yearly Meeting, to which the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting belongs, is of the so-called orthodox branch of the Society of Friends, and is a member of the Five Years' Meeting of Friends in America. For a brief discussion of the principles and practices of Quakerism see any of the numerous editions of Allen C. Thomas, *A History of Friends in America*. The story of Iowa Quakerism is told in L. T. Jones, *The Quakers in Iowa* (Iowa City, 1914).



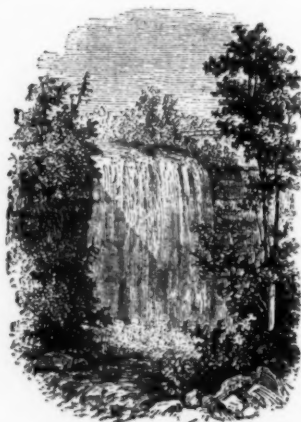
THE QUAKER MEETINGHOUSE, MINNEAPOLIS



THE HENNEPIN AVENUE MEETINGHOUSE, MINNEAPOLIS

THE
IMMIGRANTS' GUIDE
TO
MINNESOTA IN 1856

BY AN OLD RESIDENT



FALLS OF MINNEHAWA.

ST. ANTHONY:
W. W. WALES, BOOKSELLER AND PUBLISHER.

ST. PAULS: GEO. LITTLE. CHICAGO: S. C. GRIGGS & CO.
NEW YORK: IVISON & PHINNEY, 321 BROADWAY.
DETROIT: RAYMOND & SELLECK.

FACSIMILE OF THE COVER OF A WALES PAMPHLET

years later. He turned his hand to vegetable growing at first, so that Minnesotans might not be dependent on the expensive spring vegetables that were shipped up the river from the South. In 1854 he gave up this experimenting in order to open a bookstore. It became a popular meeting place for St. Anthony people, furnished as it was with a circulating library, and, as Wales advertised, with "everything usually kept in a respectable Bookstore." In 1856 he published an *Immigrants' Guide to Minnesota* and in the following year he issued a *Sketch of St. Anthony and Minneapolis, Minnesota Territory*. Both were printed and distributed by a New York firm in order to obtain for them as wide a circulation as possible. He was elected to the territorial council in 1856, was twice mayor and twice clerk of St. Anthony, and was appointed postmaster by President Lincoln in 1861. When the Sioux Indians ravaged southern Minnesota in 1862, Wales made a special trip to Indiana and Ohio to solicit relief funds, collecting over two thousand dollars in Cincinnati alone, with the help of Abraham M. Taylor, the Quaker treasurer of the Cincinnati relief committee. Later Wales did work for the freedmen in Mississippi, and in 1884 he became a missionary among the North Carolina mountaineers. Public spirited, friendly, and generous, William Wales was liked and respected by all who knew him in early Minnesota.³

While Wales was running his St. Anthony bookstore, Cyrus Beede and R. J. Mendenhall, two enterprising North Carolina Quakers, established one of the earliest banks in Minneapolis. Beede withdrew after a few years, but Mendenhall's Bank, located at First Street and Hennepin Avenue, was a flourishing institution in the sixties. Over-

³ Minnesota Territorial Pioneers, *Proceedings and Report of the Annual Meetings*, 2:161 (St. Paul, 1901); *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 14:818 (St. Paul, 1912). Copies of Wales's pamphlets and of a *Historical Sketch of St. Anthony and Minneapolis* published by the *St. Anthony Express* in 1855, all of which contain data on his bookstore, are owned by the Minnesota Historical Society.

expansion and the panic of 1873 resulted in its failure, but Mendenhall followed the Quaker practice of paying his liabilities in full, though it took many years and most of the profits from his new business of florist, a field in which he pioneered in Minneapolis.⁴

It was probably through Mendenhall that the Minneapolis Meeting received a further addition of North Carolina Quaker stock. His brother-in-law, Dr. Nathan B. Hill, had been an outspoken abolitionist, and at the first signs of war in 1860-61, he found it expedient to sell his property in North Carolina and move North. Hill brought his wife and family to Minneapolis and persuaded his brother-in-law, Dr. Alfred H. Lindley, to do the same. They brought with them more capital than most of the Friends—their names were always at the head of the early lists of contributors to the expenses of the Meeting—and they invested heavily in Minneapolis real estate. As partners in medical practice they were successful, although Dr. Hill was the more active of the two. He served on the state board of health, was president of the state medical society, and was at one time president of the city council. Dr. Lindley retired after a few years in order to give full time to his real-estate interests.⁵

In their efforts to build up the city and state and to share in the profits of the building, the early Minneapolis Quakers were similar to their non-Quaker neighbors. But the Friends had a distinctive quality about them. Their plain coats, broad brims, and gray bonnets marked them off outwardly from other people. Their religious beliefs and practices were equally distinctive. Had it not been so, they

⁴ *Some Extracts of the Personal Diary of Mrs. R. J. Mendenhall* (Minneapolis, privately printed, 1900); Marion D. Shutter, *Progressive Men of Minnesota*, 277 (Minneapolis, 1897).

⁵ Isaac Atwater, ed., *History of the City of Minneapolis, Minnesota*, 84, 884 (New York, 1893); Horace B. Hudson, *A Half Century of Minneapolis*, 184, 200 (Minneapolis, 1908).

would probably have been submerged in the mass of newcomers and absorbed as individuals into one of the already established Protestant churches. But few as they were in the early days, they remained true to their Quaker faith, preferring loneliness and isolation to joining any other sect. Quaker principles and Quaker practices were too strong within them to be lightly cast aside. Their Quaker belief in an inner light that shines in the heart of every man kept these Friends true to the simple modes of worship and upright standards of conduct that had been practiced by their ancestors for generations. They were a chosen people, called to bear a peculiar witness to the world.

This deep sense of the special mission of Quakerism was expressed by Jonathan Binns, a visiting minister from Ohio who spent the summer of 1861 among the Minneapolis Friends, aiding and encouraging them in organizing their little meeting. He rejoiced, he said, that although they were far removed from any other Quaker settlement, they had nevertheless held true to the principles of their society. He earnestly hoped for their "preservation and growth in the unchangeable Truth," and said to them, in part:

The religious profession of our Society is a high and holy one, and calls for complete dedication of soul to the influences of the Holy Spirit, and great self denial in our intercourse with the world. Indeed it was a constant object of the founders that the important truth contained in the declaration of our holy Redeemer, "My Kingdom is not of this world" should be constantly in the view of its members, seeking not one that is convulsed with the vicissitudes of Time, but a city that hath eternal foundations. We have testimonies to bear in accordance, as we firmly believe with the plain precepts of the Gospel, which are peculiar, because other denominations of Christians have not in a collective capacity, seen it their duty to adopt them, and which therefore mark us differing from all others. Yet on our faithfulness in these particulars we are often judged, even by the people of the World. Then dear friends how my heart has been warmed with desires for your encouragement to walk in the way of holiness . . . and as you are concerned thus to walk, and to maintain by a daily watch unto prayer, the profession of your faith without wavering, I do beleive [*sic*] your Heavenly Father will crown you with his ever-

lasting love, and that you will increase in numbers, as well as in the knowledge of his Truth, and his gospel of life and Salvation will have free course among you and be glorified.⁶

There were some sixty Quakers in Minneapolis in 1861 to heed the call of Jonathan Binns to uphold the peculiar testimonies of the Friends. Their meetinghouse on Hennepin Avenue, which had cost them about nine hundred dollars, was open regularly for meetings on "First Days" and on "Fifth Days," with a "First-Day School" to care for the religious education of the children. They had a small collection of Quaker books, most of them the gift of Friends in Indiana, and they had organized a library association to supervise their use.⁷ They bought land for a burying ground in 1863, for the early Friends had had a testimony against tombstones, and the Quakers of the mid-nineteenth century persisted in the practice of burying their dead in their own graveyards, using markers of only modest size.⁸

Thus established and organized, the Minneapolis Meeting became the focal point for the Friends who joined the increasing stream of immigrants that poured into Minnesota after the Civil War. By 1870 there were a hundred and forty-five members in the Minneapolis group, although most of the newcomers had settled on farms in the counties west of the city. Wright County in particular experienced a Quaker immigration so large as to warrant the establishment of several meetings for worship. Early in 1871 three of these groups in and around Howard Lake were recognized as Preparative Meetings, reporting their business to the Monthly Meeting in Minneapolis.⁹ And before the

⁶ Binns to the Friends in Minneapolis, September 9, 1861, recorded in the Minutes of Minneapolis Monthly Meeting, 1861-73, p. 2-4.

⁷ The manuscript constitution of the "Library of Friends of St. Anthony & Minneapolis, Minnesota" is preserved among the records of the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting.

⁸ This separate burial ground was sold in 1881 and the bodies removed to a plot which the Meeting purchased in the Lakewood Cemetery.

⁹ These were called Howard Lake, Highland, and Sylvan.

year was out the Wright County Friends formed a Monthly Meeting of their own, called Union, to which they transferred their membership from Minneapolis. Five years later these two Monthly Meetings were set up as the Minneapolis Quarterly Meeting, severing their connection with the Quarterly Meeting in Iowa. A third Monthly Meeting, called Redwood, was established in 1886, after a group of some fifty-three Ohio Quakers, most of them from the Newberry Monthly Meeting in Martinsville, Ohio, had emigrated to Minnesota in a body in 1864 and had settled in the vicinity of Redwood Falls.

The decade following this Redwood County settlement saw the greatest expansion of Minnesota Quakerism. It grew by immigration primarily, but there was also a considerable increase by conversion, or "convincement of Friends' principles," as the Quakers called it. After the first period of rapid growth of the Society of Friends in the seventeenth century, "convincements" had become less and less frequent, until by the early nineteenth century few people became Friends except by being born into the Society. But a new spirit of evangelism grew up among the Minnesota Quakers, gradually superseding the quiet pietism expounded by Jonathan Binns in his letter of 1861. This evangelistic ferment had been stirring in American Quakerism since the forties, when Joseph John Gurney, an English Quaker and brother of the famous Elizabeth Fry, had traveled in America and preached a new gospel—the gospel of evangelical Protestantism with its strong emphasis on sin, repentance, and salvation.

The Gurneyite doctrines appealed particularly to the Friends in the Middle West. With few exceptions, members of the orthodox branch of the society in the Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa Yearly Meetings welcomed the new evangel as a vitalizing force in Quaker life. And gradually, for the habits of a century and a half of quietism were

not quickly cast aside, western Quakerism took on the coloring of western evangelical Protestantism. The lay ministry of early Quakerism gave way to salaried preaching, Quaker meetings were transformed into revivals, Quaker silences were broken by singing, and Quaker meetinghouses became "churches," dedicated to a gospel of salvation by faith.

The new evangelism brought many converts into the Wright County Meeting, as it did also to that of Minneapolis, although it is doubtful if the convert group ever outnumbered the central core of birthright Friends. In Fillmore County, however, in the southeast corner of Minnesota, an event occurred which is almost unique in modern Quaker annals. A whole community turned Quaker where none had been Friends before. There were Friends near by, for the Quaker farmers who had begun to settle in northeastern Iowa in 1853 had gradually pushed across the state line, organizing a Preparative Meeting in Kedron in 1872, with a meetinghouse in Sumner Township. But the little town of Highland experienced a spontaneous religious revival, and, after several years of occasional preaching by Methodist, Congregationalist, and Quaker evangelists, affiliated in 1886-87 with the Monthly Meeting of Friends in the near-by Iowa town of Hesper. The Highland group was a Friends' church, rather than a Quaker meeting, depending upon a paid pastor for the preaching that a member-ministry would have performed among Quakers of the older type.¹⁰

¹⁰ Both the Kedron and Highland Preparative Meetings were set off from the Winneshiek (now Hesper) Monthly Meeting in 1892 and became Monthly Meetings affiliated with the Winneshiek (formerly Red Cedar) Quarterly Meeting. The Highland Meeting erected a building in 1892, and employed Ezra G. Pearson for two years as resident pastor. There were thirty-five members in the Meeting in 1896. At present there are eleven, and the congregation has been supplied since 1894 by pastors from Hesper. There are now twenty-eight members in the Kedron Monthly Meeting, but they have ceased to meet regularly. Information on these meetings was supplied by Alvin A. Hawks of Mabel, Isola Howe of Spring Valley, Frances Shattuck of Whalen, and J. W.

The increase of Friends in Minneapolis occasioned the opening in 1886 of a second meeting for worship in the southern part of the city, where a building employed as a mission at Tenth Avenue South and Twenty-fourth Street was moved to Stevens Avenue near Lake Street and used by the Friends in that neighborhood. The downtown meeting outgrew its original building on Hennepin Avenue, and by selling that property realized enough to buy a lot and build a new meetinghouse at the corner of First Avenue South and Fourteenth Street. This building, completed in 1895 and still in use, is perhaps symbolic of the spiritual change that had occurred in Minnesota Quakerism. For instead of exhibiting the familiar simplicity of Quaker meetinghouses since the days of George Fox's testimony against ornate "steeple houses," it has a porch in the Greek revival style, with a pediment supported by four slender Ionic columns. The interior, however, retains the severe lines of ancient tradition, betraying only in its table pulpit the fact that the multiple ministry of former times has given way to a single professional preacher.

With the new building in Minneapolis and a membership there of over three hundred, the accessions in Fillmore County, and the establishment in 1890 of a group in Abbyville, Renville County, Minnesota Quakerism flourished as it had never done before.¹¹ But this prosperity was as short-lived as were the golden days which all Minnesota experienced before the great panic of 1893. In little more than a decade all the rural meetings except those in Fillmore

Eves, custodian of records of the Iowa Yearly Meeting, Oskaloosa, Iowa. See also Clarence Houck, report on the Kedron Quaker Church, in the papers of the historical records survey; Jones, *Quakers in Iowa*, 70; and Iowa Yearly Meeting of Friends, *Minutes*, 1936, appendix.

¹¹ The figure for Minneapolis includes the Lake Street Friends, who gave up their meetinghouse in order to worship in the new building with the older congregation. The Abbyville Preparative Meeting was named for the wife of R. J. Mendenhall, who sent a group of Friends to cultivate the large landholdings he had acquired there. In 1904 the Meeting went out of existence.

County had disappeared, and the Minneapolis Meeting had suffered a serious decline.¹² The *Directory* which it published in 1892 showed that a third of its 294 members lived outside the city— isolated families in Anoka, Todd, Wright, and Renville counties, and elsewhere. Nonresidence necessarily meant nonparticipation in the life of the meeting, and a pruning of the rolls in 1899 left only 184 persons in active membership. When the remaining members of the Union Monthly Meeting were absorbed in 1900 the total number was increased to 228. But in most instances this affiliation was only temporary, for the majority of the Wright County people moved out of the state, and they soon transferred their membership to their new homes.¹³

The causes of this swift decline of Quakerism in Minnesota were many, some of them beyond the power of the group to control, others inherent in the changed character of Quakerism itself. The compelling cause was of course the renewed migration among the members of the rural meetings. At Howard Lake, for instance, the Quaker artisans who had gone there when the town was being built in the seventies, were drawn into Minneapolis a decade later as the city more than trebled its size. The Quaker farmers sold their Minnesota lands and went elsewhere. It was with them as it had been with their ancestors for a century and more. Depression and the lure of new land impelled colonial Quaker farmers to leave Virginia and Pennsylvania for the Carolinas. Similar factors, and a growing dislike of

¹² The Redwood Falls Quakers ceased to meet without so much as giving notice to the Quarterly or Yearly Meetings, and their records have never been recovered. In 1909 the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting entered in its own minutes a formal notice of the dissolution of the Redwood group.

¹³ Copies of this *Directory*, a tiny booklet without title page, place, or date, are now very rare. One is filed in the records of the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting. The earliest minutes of the Union Monthly Meeting are not extant, but a volume of "Records of Membership, 1872-1892," and one of "Minutes, 1887-1898" are preserved in the vault of the Iowa Yearly Meeting at Oskaloosa, Iowa.

slavery, sent their children and grandchildren into Ohio and Indiana. From there they pushed on into Iowa, Kansas, and Minnesota, whence, since they were rooted there neither by time nor tradition, the depression of the nineties set them moving again.

Much of this last migration led directly from Minnesota to the coastal valleys of Oregon and California. As early as 1870, for instance, an anonymous "Husband and Father" wrote home to his "Dear Ones in Minneapolis," praising the fruitful San Jose region in California, where Friends had begun to settle, and voicing his hope that his family might soon join him there.¹⁴ Whether this hope was fulfilled the records do not disclose, but there were numerous transfers of membership in later years from Minneapolis to meetings on the west coast, fifteen certificates being forwarded to Oregon in 1898 alone. But the records also show that a considerable number of Minnesota Friends went south into Iowa and Kansas, or returned to the Ohio Valley, or even to the east coast. The closing of the agricultural frontier at the end of the nineteenth century thus modified the westward trend of American Quakerism.

If emigration was a serious threat to the continuance of Quakerism in Minnesota, there were also elements in the new evangelicalism which weakened the hold of the society on its remaining members. The strong bonds of early Quakerism which held the group in close religious and social communion were gradually relaxed. Quaker young people married non-Quakers without fear of the excommunication, or "disownment," that would have been their lot in former days. Quakers ceased to use the plain language of George Fox and to dress in the Quaker gray or black of their ancestors. In outward appearance and manner they became very much like "the people of the world." Nor was there

¹⁴ The letter is in the records of the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting. The first transfers of membership to the San Jose Monthly Meeting occurred in 1873.

any serious difference in religious beliefs between the Friends and other evangelical Protestant denominations. Minnesota Quakers freely furnished certificates of membership to members who wished for personal or social reasons to join the Methodists, Baptists, Presbyterians, or Congregationalists. Christian Science claimed two members of the Minneapolis Meeting, and one person left the Quakers to enlist in the Salvation Army!

In 1905 the Minneapolis Friends became so concerned about the shrinkage in their numbers that they were moved to serious self-appraisal, reporting the results of their examination to the Yearly Meeting in Iowa as follows:

Minneapolis Monthly Meeting is a small body with a widely scattered membership. Fully one half of its members are non resident. One third of the remainder are only nominally Friends. Their interest in the Meeting is small, and they rarely attend—but have been kept on our list of membership for various reasons. Of the remainder it can be said that they attend Meeting very well, their spiritual condition is good, and their interest in the welfare of the Meeting is strong.

We are isolated from any large body of Friends, and are thrown on our own resources. We must face the difficulties incident to maintaining a Friends Meeting in a large City—these are many and great. Our membership is being constantly depleted by death and removal, and there are no new ones coming in to take the places of those who have gone—the outlook is not encouraging.

Having thus outlined their precarious condition, they asked for advice and assistance, saying:

As Cities are centers of intelligence and education, and are vantage points for the dissemination of Truth, the causes and remedy for this condition of our meeting might well engage the attention and consideration of the Yearly Meeting.¹⁵

After several years of consideration it was decided that the needs of the Minneapolis Friends could best be met by employing a full-time pastor. Twenty years before they had begun the practice of employing pastors. One of them, William Penn Angell, had been the motivating force behind

¹⁵ Minutes of Minneapolis Monthly Meeting, 1893-1914, p. 197.

the building of the new meetinghouse, but after he gave up his pastorate the congregation did without a full-time leader for several years. Eleanor Wood, a young woman who was a recognized minister in the Society of Friends, devoted part of her time to the Meeting, and introduced a piano in the Sunday morning services, a radical departure from Quaker custom. But the organization needed a more vigorous and permanent leadership to give it strength. In 1909 then, to meet this need, it employed A. Edward Kelsey, a man of Quaker background, but with considerable training and experience in the evangelical type of ministerial service.¹⁰

The new pastor utilized the methods commonly employed by ministers in other churches to stimulate the interest of their members. Services and church groups were multiplied. Promotional activities such as roll-call dinners and printed bulletins were inaugurated. An annual "every-member canvas" for funds was instituted to provide for the increase in expenses, and the duplex envelope system of weekly contributions replaced the older Quaker method of individual assessments. At the same time, however, a decided effort was made to preserve the useful features of traditional Quakerism by means of a study class conducted by the pastor in the history and principles of the Society of Friends.

Since the pastorate of Edward Kelsey, who was called to the Friends' mission school in Palestine in 1913, four other pastors have continued the work along the lines which he laid down. Samuel L. Haworth served from 1913 to 1919, and Ellison R. Purdy from 1919 until his death in 1933.

¹⁰ Information concerning pastors prior to 1909 has been supplied by Miss Alice C. Webb and other Minneapolis Friends. During the transition from the lay ministry to the pastoral system, financial arrangements with the pastors were made by a committee whose records do not appear in the regular records of the Meeting. The first paid pastor was William L. Pearson, who came to Minneapolis about 1885. He was followed by Irving Taber and William Penn Angell. Dr. Harland Stewart supplied for a time during the interval in which there was no regular pastor.

After a year's pastorate by Dr. H. L. McCracken, Mr. H. Millard Jones, the present pastor, was called to fill the vacancy.

The results of the introduction of the full pastoral system were immediately apparent in the revival of the spirit of the Minneapolis group. Interest and optimism replaced indifference and discouragement, and the rapid decline in membership was checked. But there was no great increase, in spite of the best evangelizing efforts of the pastors. The membership list grew from 200 in 1909 to 233 in 1924. At present, however, it stands at 192, with a third of the list representing members no longer in residence. It would appear that immigration and the conversion of new members have failed to offset the losses resulting from removal, resignation, and death. The current financial depression and the death of several large contributors have so reduced the Meeting's income that the annual budget, which once amounted to almost four thousand dollars, now barely exceeds two thousand. The problem of a declining membership remains.

The influence of the Quakers upon Minnesota life in the eighty-six years since the first Friends came to the state has been greater than their numbers would lead one to suppose. In matters of individual conduct they held to a high standard, for they were puritan in morals if not in theology. The Meeting closely supervised its members in both their personal and social relationships, and a Friend who went to law unnecessarily, who resorted to divorce without due cause, or whose conduct in business or otherwise brought disrepute upon the society, was required either to ask forgiveness or to suffer "disownment." The result was that Quakers were generally known as respectable, honest, virtuous people, and were a strong influence for good in the communities in which they lived.

In addition to these puritan virtues the Friends had the gift of charity, a gift peculiarly their own. In this they

made their most noteworthy contribution to Minnesota life, particularly to that of Minneapolis. They were accustomed to caring for their own poor as a matter of course, but they were equally solicitous for the welfare of others. As Minneapolis grew from town to city the Friends, particularly the women, were among the first to recognize the need for organized charity and relief. They helped to found the Woman's Christian Association in 1866-67, the second organized philanthropy in the city, and the parent organization of many other charities which now serve the city's underprivileged. The association's visitor of the poor, Mrs. Phebe H. McMillan, did her work so well that the city poor department made her its first salaried visitor. Other Quaker women, including Mrs. Abby Mendenhall, Miss Sarah Swift, Mrs. Eliza Lindley, and Mrs. Annis L. Stuart, did jail visiting, helped to found the Sisterhood of Bethany, and were among the organizers of the Northwestern Hospital for Women and Children. The older organization, the Woman's Christian Association, developed this work in its early stages, but it gradually narrowed its activities to its two present tasks, the providing of boarding homes for working girls and of a home for the aged. In this as in their other philanthropies, Quaker women always worked in co-operation with members of other churches, but to them may be given great credit for their years of service on the board of directors of the Woman's Christian Association, which now does an annual business of a quarter of a million dollars and administers properties worth nearly a million.¹⁷

Causes other than local charities likewise received the support of Minneapolis Friends. They contributed to the "Freedmen's Fund" of the Iowa Yearly Meeting, and their "Committee on the Concerns of the People of Color," a

¹⁷ Jessie McMillan Marclay, "Friends in Social Service," a paper read before the Minneapolis Friends in 1916 and now preserved among their records.

characteristic feature of the Quakers' program since they emancipated their own slaves in the eighteenth century, conducted "First-Day Schools" among the Negroes in St. Anthony for a decade following the Civil War.

The temperance movement of the seventies found ready adherents among Minnesota Quakers. Their ancestors had long frowned upon the making and selling of spiritous liquors, although total abstinence had not always been a Quaker practice, and some Friends, particularly in England, had made respectable fortunes as brewers. But American Quakers were strongly affected by the temperance agitation after the Civil War, and the Minneapolis Monthly Meeting, following the advice of the Yearly Meeting of 1874, appointed a special committee on temperance. For several years they campaigned vigorously against the liquor traffic, and co-operated with other churches in petitioning the city authorities for stricter regulation of saloons. Quaker women joined a Women's Temperance Union, and they encouraged the growth of a "Temperance Reform Club" by securing pledges of total abstinence from both drunkards and teetotalers. The temperance committee reported with pride in 1877 that one unfortunate inebriate had by this means been brought to see the error of his ways, and, like the redoubtable Koko, been taken from the county jail and elevated to the high office of president of the Reform Club, thus "honoring himself and the Cause." Although this particular campaign waned in time, the Friends retained their faith in the righteousness of the cause, and in later years renewed the attack upon the evils involved in the abuse of alcohol. At present they are participating in an effort to replace the wreckage of national prohibition with a temperance movement based on education rather than force.¹⁸

Quakerism has always opposed the resort to force in in-

¹⁸ Minutes of Minneapolis Monthly Meeting, 1873-95, p. 123. A prominent Minneapolis Friend, Mr. Roscoe C. Coffin, is president of the Minnesota Temperance Movement, and the pastor of the Minneapolis

ternational relations, and to this Quaker principle the Minneapolis Friends have held true. During the Civil War two or three of their members did succumb to the temptation to enlist in what they believed to be a holy cause. But the majority went quietly about their business, silently testifying to their conviction that the way of peace was the better way. In the less troubled times that followed the war they became active again, contributing to the peace fund of the Yearly Meeting, and memorializing Congress in favor of the establishment of a tribunal for international arbitration and against further increases in the expenditure for armaments. Later, when the United States was engaged in carrying liberty to the Filipinos at the point of the bayonet, the peace committee of the Minneapolis Friends deplored the barbarity and cruelty with which the liberation was inflicted, although it does not appear that they dared express their views outside the sanctum of the Quaker meeting. Again, in the early years of the World War, Minneapolis Quakers vigorously aided the efforts to keep the United States neutral. They memorialized President Wilson and the Congressmen from Minnesota, and assisted at numerous mass demonstrations for peace. At several of these meetings their minister, Samuel L. Haworth, presided, introducing such distinguished pacifists as David Starr Jordan and William Jennings Bryan. When pacifism became treason in 1917 the Friends turned to relief work, joining with their national organization, the American Friends Service Committee, in the war zone rehabilitation and ambulance service by which Quakers in England and America demonstrated their desire to serve humanity if not to join in its destruction.

The story of Quakerism in Minnesota, including as it does a full cycle of development from small beginnings to

Meeting devotes a considerable portion of his time to his position as educational chairman of the organization. See the *Spotlight*, the organ of the Minnesota Temperance Movement, for June, 1936.

maturity and then to slow decline, has in it most of the elements which go to make up the larger story of western Quakerism in the nineteenth century. It shows the character and influence of the westward trend of rural Quakerism: the settling of new lands and establishing of new meetings, the move to still newer lands, and the consequent decline of the older meeting groups. It shows the effects of the western experience on the essential character of Quakerism, its gradual abandonment of its older doctrines, and its adoption of the habits of worship and the mode of life of the surrounding churches and people. It shows as well the contribution which Friends have made to the life of the West, especially in cities such as Minneapolis, where the group was strongest, most stable, and most conscious of a need for a wider service. Though few of the Minnesota Friends ever achieved such distinction as to place them among the great leaders of the state, they were a distinctly constructive force in the community.¹⁹ Quaker piety and Quaker industry, Quaker honesty and Quaker charity, have all entered into Minnesota life in good measure.

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¹⁹ The only Minnesotan of Quaker origin to secure high political office was William Windom, United States senator and secretary of the treasury under Garfield and Harrison. He married outside the society in the days when this was sternly frowned upon, lived in Winona, remote from any Friends' meeting, and never associated himself actively with Minnesota Quakerism.

THE STATE HISTORICAL CONVENTION OF 1937

Members and friends of the Minnesota Historical Society who have participated in some or all of the annual tours held under its auspices since 1922 have penetrated many parts of the North Star State. They have visited the rugged North Shore of Lake Superior, viewed the beauties of the Mississippi Valley both above and below the Twin Cities, followed old cart trails over the fertile plains of the Red River Valley, explored the valleys of the Minnesota and the St. Croix, pushed southward to Albert Lea and Fairmont, and traced the Mississippi to its source in Lake Itasca. What remained for the society's fifteenth annual tour and convention? The choice for 1937 fell upon the most remote section of the state, the Lake of the Woods country, which may be appropriately described as Minnesota's last frontier.¹

With the northernmost portion not only of Minnesota but of the main area of the United States as their destination, about fifty people traveling in two busses and a number of private automobiles left the Historical Building in St. Paul on Friday morning, June 18. By the time they reached Little Falls, where they paused for the first session of the convention, they had been joined by about forty additional tourists. Approximately a hundred and thirty people, some forty of whom were residents of Little Falls, attended the luncheon at the Hotel Buckman at 12:15 P. M.

Mr. Edward C. Gale of Minneapolis, president of the society, who presided, opened the convention by announcing that the society was happy to hold the first session of the

¹ A multigraphed sheet giving "Glimpses of the History of the Route" covered by the tour was distributed among the tourists at the beginning of the trip.

1937 tour in "Lindbergh City," as he termed the home community of Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh. He then called upon Dr. John T. Flanagan of the department of English in the University of Minnesota for a paper on "The Hoosier Schoolmaster in Minnesota." Many members of the audience were surprised to learn from this speaker that Edward Eggleston, the "first of the Hoosier realists," spent much of the decade from 1856 to 1866 as a resident of Minnesota and that he gathered the material for one of his novels, the *Mystery of Metropolisville*, in this state. His activities in frontier Minnesota as a Methodist pastor, an eager traveler, a popular lecturer, and the first St. Paul librarian were described by Dr. Flanagan. As one of a series of articles by the same author on the Minnesota experiences of well-known literary figures, this interesting paper will appear in a future issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY.

The "Story of the White Earth Catholic Indian Mission" was outlined by the second speaker, Sister Grace McDonald of the College of St. Benedict at St. Joseph. She told of the difficulties encountered by the Chippewa of the White Earth Reservation after the "peace policy" of President Grant was put in operation there in 1874. It was part of this plan to "give the agencies over to such denominations as had for the longest time maintained missions among the Indians" and to allow the church in question to name the agent, teacher, farmer, interpreter, and the like. Missionaries of only one denomination were to work on each reservation. Despite the fact that two-thirds of the Indians at White Earth were Catholics, said Sister Grace, the reservation was placed under the supervision of the Episcopal church. She told how Father Ignatius Tomazin, who was ordered to minister to the White Earth Indians by the Catholic church, clashed with the agent appointed by the Episcopal bishop, Henry B. Whipple, and how the Indians rose in defense of their black-robed missionary.

After triumphing over the civil authorities, Father Tomazin was replaced by Father Aloysius Hermanutz, a Benedictine. With Sisters Philomene Ketten and Lioba Braun, he went to White Earth in 1878, where, according to the speaker, "these three were destined to work together for over fifty years." The school that they established in 1881, said Sister Grace, has "continued to grow until today it numbers eighteen teachers and helpers, and over five thousand pupils have enrolled in its classes."

At the conclusion of this paper, the chairman called upon Mrs. Harry Stillwell, vice president of the Morrison County Historical Society, who welcomed the visitors and said a few words about the activities of the local society. Mr. R. D. Musser of Little Falls was then asked to introduce Mrs. Milo Young, the oldest living schoolteacher in the county, who recalled memories of the Sioux and Civil wars and of the caravans of ox carts that once passed through western Minnesota. At the close of the meeting, Mr. Musser invited the tourists to visit Lindbergh State Park before leaving Little Falls. A heavy downpour of rain did not prevent many of the visitors from taking advantage of the opportunity to see the park established in memory of Congressman Charles A. Lindbergh and to go through the house on the Mississippi in which his famous son spent a part of his boyhood.

After crossing the Mississippi at Little Falls, the tourists pushed northwestward, following the route used by the Red River cart trains of old, to Detroit Lakes, where they arrived late in the afternoon. In making this trip they passed over the Mississippi divide and entered the Red River Valley, which is part of the Hudson Bay basin—a fact to which attention was called by Mr. L. M. Benshoof, editor of the *Detroit Lakes Record*, who presided at the evening session. More than a hundred people assembled at the Hotel Graystone for a dinner program, which included two speakers. The first, Professor Charles J. Ritchey of Drake

University, Des Moines, Iowa, described some of his adventures in "Hunting for Manuscripts in the Northwest." The experiences of which he told grew out of his search for materials for a book on the Fisk expeditions from Minnesota to Montana in the sixties. He offered the story of his adventures as concrete evidence that the study of history is "not dry as dust." His searching expedition began at the Minnesota Soldiers' Home, where James Liberty Fisk died, and continued over a complicated trail that led to White Bear Lake, where he had lived, to Hartland, Wisconsin, over the route that Fisk himself had followed to Helena, Montana, to the Bitter Root Valley, to Mandan, North Dakota, and eventually back to the starting place in Minnesota. Among the rewards reaped by the searcher were some documents preserved by Fisk's daughter, a diary kept from 1863 to 1870 by his brother, Andrew Jackson Fisk, another kept by R. E. Fisk in 1866, and some items preserved by the family of a surgeon who had accompanied one of the expeditions. Mr. Ritchey announced that he knows of other diaries and records which he is still hoping to find and that, since his book on Fisk is not yet complete, the "search is still on." He invited members of the audience to join the search and to tell him of any pertinent material they might find.

A diary of a very different type, in which a trader, Daniel Hunt, recorded his experiences "On the Red River Trails in the Fifties," formed the basis of the second paper presented at Detroit Lakes. The speaker, the Reverend Arthur H. Gilmore of the St. Anthony Park Congregational Church, St. Paul, revealed that this record was accidentally discovered when material was being assembled for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of his church. The diarist, a young Maineite in search of adventure, went to Minnesota in 1857, visited St. Paul, St. Anthony, and Stillwater, steamed up the Mississippi to St. Cloud on the "North Star," and then struck west with a Red River cart train

bound for Breckenridge. There he staked a claim, established the "first brick yard in this part of the country," and became involved in local politics. But Hunt was not ready to settle down; the next spring he built a boat and voyaged down the Red River to Fort Garry. In the two years that followed he visited numerous points of the frontier Northwest—Pembina, St. Vincent, the Lake of the Woods, Thief River, Red Lake, and Cass Lake—and he carried many loads of furs from the Canadian fort into Minnesota. Mr. Gilmore told of one journey made in January, 1859, when Hunt was almost frozen to death. In the following June he shipped a cargo of furs to Fort Abercrombie on the "Anson Northup," the first steamboat on the Red River. Mr. Gilmore revealed that Hunt served with a Minnesota regiment in the Civil War and that he eventually settled on a large farm in what is now the Midway district of St. Paul. Before the session adjourned, Mr. Benshoof remarked upon the large and enthusiastic audience, and noted that it included at least twice as many people as had attended a session of the state historical convention in the same community in 1924. He then called upon Mr. Charles Stees of St. Paul, a member of the executive council of the Minnesota Historical Society who has attended most of the society's summer tours. Mr. Stees expressed appreciation for the hospitality enjoyed by the tourists in Detroit Lakes and for the excellent arrangements made by the local committee.

On the following morning, June 19, the tourists departed, over a northward course that skirted the western boundary of White Earth Indian Reservation, for Roseau, where they joined residents of one of Minnesota's northernmost counties in a celebration commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of white settlement. An informal luncheon at the First English Lutheran Church was followed by an afternoon session in the recently completed municipal auditorium. This building, which was erected as a WPA project, was

first used for the anniversary celebration. The entire countryside must have been represented in the audience that assembled that Saturday afternoon in Roseau, for about a thousand people were present when Senator Victor E. Lawson, publisher of the *Willmar Tribune*, called the meeting to order. Several selections by a school band preceded the program proper. Mr. Lawson opened the session by commenting upon the significance of the anniversary celebration. He noted particularly the racial elements that have helped to build Roseau County in the past half century, and he praised the Scandinavians for their work in permanently settling this frontier region. He then introduced the first speaker, Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, who remarked that, whereas Mr. Lawson's comments related to the recent history of the community, he would speak on its ancient history. His subject, "Fort St. Charles and the Northwest Angle," revealed that he was about to deal with the isolated bit of Minnesota that is cut off from the rest of the state by the waters of the Lake of the Woods and Canadian territory.² How it happens that the international boundary runs farther north at this point than at any other place was explained by the speaker before he related the story of the fort erected by the French explorer, La Vérendrye, in 1732 on an island just south of the present boundary. Dr. Blegen unfolded a tale of daring adventure, involving a trading explorer, his four sons, his nephew, and two Jesuit missionaries. The speaker concluded with a recommendation that either the United States or the state of Minnesota should reserve the site of Fort St. Charles "for posterity as a permanent park set aside by virtue of its international historical importance," that it should be appropri-

²The story of La Vérendrye and of the *Discovery of Lake of the Woods*, as told by Father d'Eschambault of the St. Boniface Historical Society in Manitoba, was published in pamphlet form by the Roseau County Historical Society and placed on sale in connection with the celebration.

ately marked, and that a replica of La Vérendrye's post should be erected there. By publication in the present issue of this magazine, his paper is made available to a wider audience.

In view of Dr. Blegen's recommendation, it was appropriate that he should be followed on the program by the director of Minnesota state parks, Mr. Harold Lathrop of St. Paul, who seconded the suggestions relating to the fort site. Taking as his subject "State Parks and State History," the speaker revealed that state park sites in Minnesota have been selected both for their historical associations and their recreational facilities. Among the parks of special historical interest he noted Itasca, Sibley, Sleepy Eye, Jay Cooke, Traverse des Sioux, and Fort Ridgely. Small areas, he remarked, often are designated as "historical state waysides." He stressed the need for a survey of state park sites based upon a careful study of Minnesota history. At the conclusion of this address Mr. Lawson announced that Mr. Lathrop had just been elected a director of the national council of state parks. Two songs by Mrs. R. S. Rice preceded the final speaker on the afternoon program, Mr. Eddy E. Billberg, president of the Roseau County Historical Society, who reviewed "Fifty Years of Roseau County." La Vérendrye and his men were the first white men to see the Roseau country and they gave to a river and a lake the name that was later applied to the county, said Mr. Billberg, but it remained for the pioneers of 1887 to accept the challenge of the wilderness and to transform it into a civilized region. They established friendly relations with the Indians and built homes and schools. Later the county was advertised and farmers were encouraged to settle there when some of its products were displayed at the Minnesota State Fair. The Indian scare of 1891 and the coming of the railroads, which had been commemorated in a morning session, also were touched upon. The speaker called upon Mr. J. W. Dur-

ham, one of the settlers of 1887, to rise, and he also asked those who had attended classes in the first Roseau County school to acknowledge the applause of the audience. Mr. Billberg closed by assuring the pioneers present that their services to the county would be commemorated in song and in story.³

After this program visitors went to another part of the auditorium to view the exhibits in the museum of the Roseau County Historical Society, which has been arranged in two rooms on the second floor. All were favorably impressed by the remarkable collection of objects illustrative of pioneer, Indian, and bird and animal life in the county to be seen in this local museum. The exhibits were arranged by Mr. P. O. Fryklund, the curator. Many of the tourists also took advantage of an opportunity to see the "William Crooks," the first locomotive used in Minnesota, which was on display at the Roseau station through the courtesy of the Great Northern Railroad.

About five hundred people assembled in the Roseau Auditorium for the evening session, which convened at 8:15 P.M. with Mr. Blegen presiding. He congratulated the community upon its historical museum and the excellent manner in which it is housed and arranged. After the playing of several selections by an instrumental trio, Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, read a paper on "Manton Marble and the Nobles Expedition of 1859." This narrative was based upon reports sent to the *New York Evening Post* by its correspondent, Manton Marble, and to the *St. Paul Pioneer and Democrat* by Joseph A. Wheelock in the summer of 1859, when they accompanied Colonel William H. Nobles of St. Paul on an overland expedition to the Canadian Northwest. James Wickes Taylor, later American consul in Winnipeg, was another member of the

³A brief survey of the history of Roseau County was given in a special *Program* issued by the Roseau County Historical Society.

expedition, which was sponsored by the St. Paul city council. The party that left the Minnesota capital on June 4, 1859, consisted of twenty men, some of whom were bound for the Fraser River gold fields. Mr. Babcock described the travelers' progress over one of the old Red River trails to St. Cloud, where they met Jane Grey Swisshelm, the editor; through the Sauk Valley, dotted with rough claim shanties; over a stage road that was being built by Burbank and Company to Osakis Lake and the site of Alexandria; to Fort Abercrombie on the Red River, where they found the pioneer steamboat, "Anson Northup"; through Dakota Territory to Pembina, where they were royally entertained by Joe Rolette and where six members of the party left the main group to push on to the Fraser River mines; and on to Fort Ellice, where the party disbanded. Among the experiences that Marble and Wheelock described in their accounts of the expedition, said Mr. Babcock, were a meeting with two "Scotch lassies," who were traveling to Lake Athabasca, where one of them was to marry a Hudson's Bay Company employee, a buffalo hunt which supplied the travelers with fresh meat, and a visit to one of the Red River settlements while its inhabitants were absent on a hunting expedition. Upon the conclusion of this paper, Mr. Blegen remarked that Miss Ellen Wheelock, a daughter of the famous St. Paul editor mentioned by Mr. Babcock, was in the audience and asked her to rise.

A number of vocal selections by a group of nine boys formed a pleasing interlude between Mr. Babcock's paper and a talk by Mr. Gale, who told of his discovery of "An Original La Vérendrye Document" at Goodspeed's Book Shop in Boston some years ago. This interesting manuscript—a contract written by a notary at Quebec in 1748 and signed by the explorer after he returned from the West and just a year before his death—helped to create a vivid picture of the intrepid Frenchman to whom the Roseau country was familiar ground more than a century and a half

before the first Americans settled there. Mr. Gale displayed the original document and read the following English translation of its text:

^ We the undersigned have made the following agreement, to wit, that I, Pierre Gauthier, Esquire, Sieur De la Verendry, captain of infantry, commandant for the King at the post of the Western Sea, acknowledge and avow that, at the good pleasure of Monseigneur, Marquis de la Galissoniere, knight of the royal military order of St. Louis, captain of the King's fleet, and commandant general for His Majesty in all of New France and in the region and country of Louisiana, I have rented and accepted payment for four entire and consecutive years to commence on the fifteenth of next April and to end at the arrival of the fleet, according to custom, in the year seventeen hundred and fifty-three; and I do promise to guarantee to Sieurs Dominique Godé and Alexis Le Moine Moniere, merchants of Montreal, and by these presents do promise, accepting them as lessees and holding for them the said title during said period, to put them in possession of all the exclusive trade in commodities to be carried on with the French as well as the Indians and others at the posts of Rainy Lake and Lake of the Woods and their dependencies; the limits of which, as far as Rainy Lake is concerned, to commence at Lake Saguinaga, and for the Lake of the Woods at Fort St. Charles, and to end at River Pichikoka, whose mouth is in the vicinity of the mouth of the Maurepas River, otherwise known as Grande Rivière, which empties into Lake Winnipeg, the said post to extend to the north thirty leagues and to the Southwest twenty leagues. Moreover, I, Laverendry, promise not to carry on or cause to be carried on directly or indirectly, under any stipulation made or to be made, by any means whatsoever any trade at these said posts and their dependencies on pain of all damages, expense, and interest. We, Godé and Moniere promise under pain of loss of our right, to pay to the said Sieur De la Verendry the sum of twelve hundred livres rental for each of the said four years, of which rentals I De la Verendry acknowledge to have had and received in cash from the said lessees before the consummation of these presents the sum of seventeen hundred livres and for the remainder which will be due me the said acceptors are held and accountable to me only at the expiration of the present lease. Knowing, moreover, that Sieur Gonneville is the present farmer of the posts above mentioned and that his lease will not expire until seventeen hundred fifty, should he wish to hold his lease, the four years of tenancy by Sieurs Godé and Moniere shall not begin until the expiration of the said lease and shall not end until the year seventeen hundred and fifty four instead of seventeen hundred and fifty three as stated above.

Made in duplicate at Quebec the twenty-second of October, 1748.
. . . Sieur Godé having declared that he cannot sign his name,
Sieur Moniere has signed for both

LAVRENDRYE
MONIERE

Certified exact and signed

Since Canadian-American relations had been mentioned in several of the papers presented at Roseau, Mr. Blegen invited Mr. Harold Knox of Winnipeg, one of five high-school teachers from the Canadian city who attended the Roseau meeting, to say a few words. Mr. Knox noted that Manitoba and Minnesota have at many points a common historical background, and that among the figures who help to bind closely the province and the state are La Vérendrye and James W. Taylor. While the waters that mark the international boundary between Lake Superior and the Lake of the Woods form a natural dividing line, said Mr. Knox, the boundary from that lake westward is a purely artificial barrier cutting through a region in which the Red River serves as a connecting link between Manitoba and its American neighbors. His remarks were a fitting introduction to the last paper of the Roseau session—a discussion of "Fur Traders and Border Posts" by Dr. Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts on the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society. This account of life at the posts on Rainy Lake, Lake of the Woods, Red Lake, Vermilion Lake, the Winnipeg River, and other northern waterways from 1791 to 1830 was based upon traders' diaries preserved in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London and examined there by the speaker. She found evidence that the Lake of the Woods country was old trading ground even as early as 1792, for in that year an English trader, James Sutherland, wrote of examining the remains of a French fort north of the border lake. Miss Nute drew upon a large number of diaries kept at the Rainy Lake post of the Hudson's Bay Company, which became Fort Frances

in 1830. From them she learned how new posts were built, where they were established, who the traders and their men were, how they lived, what they did for amusement, and the like. She also found out how the Hudson's Bay Company met the competition offered by the Northwest Company and later the American Fur Company, and how the British traders felt about being excluded from the American Northwest. Dr. John McLoughlin, who kept a diary at Rainy Lake in 1822, noted that "In Lake of the Woods we used to keep one Post, one year on the South Side and the next on the North, but as the South side belongs to the Americans, we cannot go to our former place, War road." Miss Nute found records of British posts as far south as Lakes Traverse and Big Stone. From the extracts quoted, "it can be seen how much of interest for Minnesota history there is stored away in the basement of Hudson's Bay House in London," she said. "The series of diaries and reports goes on to the beginning of this century. . . . I have merely given a few samples of extracts that I made while I was working in these manuscripts in 1935." The Roseau celebration was brought to a close by the Honorable Mike Holm, Minnesota secretary of state, a native son of the northern community. He recalled some incidents from the early social life of the region and told how the county was organized from parts of Kittson and Beltrami counties.

When the traveling historians started out on a journey of exploration of their own early on the morning of Sunday, June 20, they doubtless felt that the speakers of the previous day had prepared them for their travels. Across the Roseau River—the "Rush River" of the Chippewa—and over some twenty miles of flat and almost uninhabited country they sped to Warroad, a town that has grown up in the present century on the southwest shore of the Lake of the Woods. Though the modern community is new, the story of its site extends back through centuries, for it is located at the mouth of the Warroad River on a tract that was

neutral territory between the warring Sioux and Chippewa, and on which about 1820 the American Fur Company built a post. There on a perfect June day of 1937, at 7:15 A. M., about a hundred and seventy-five tourists embarked on the steamboat "Scout" and the launch "Resolute" for a voyage to the Northwest Angle and the site of Fort St. Charles. Across Muskeg Bay and into the wide, ocean-like reaches of the south section of the lake they sailed, now and again catching a glimpse of a forested shore that might be either Canadian or American soil.⁴ It was almost noon before the rocky islands that are characteristic of the central and northern sections of the lake began to appear. Then the boats followed the international boundary, and the tourists could see American islands to the left and Canadian islands to the right. One mound of rock and pine to the east proved to be Massacre Island, where La Vérendrye's eldest son, Father Aulneau, and nineteen voyageurs were killed by Indians in 1736. An occasional fishing station is the only sign of human life in this northern lake land, which has changed little since its shores echoed to the songs of La Vérendrye's voyageurs. The tourists found that, despite the lapse of more than two centuries, the wilderness that the daring Frenchman penetrated is still a wilderness. Eventually a group of buildings and a long dock that made landing possible came into sight. This was American Point, on an island near the entrance to the Northwest Angle Inlet, where Penasse, the northernmost post office in the United States, is located. There the tourists paused for lunch. A high wind that rose in the late morning and continued through most of the afternoon made impossible the landing of the large boats on the inhospitable north shore of Magnuson's Island, where La Vérendrye built Fort St. Charles in 1732. In two small motor boats, about

⁴ Blueprint copies of a map of the Lake of the Woods were distributed through the courtesy of Mr. Charles Stees of St. Paul. A chart of Fort St. Charles in blueprint form also was made available to the tourists.

twenty-five of the tourists made the trip. Over rocks and through underbrush they pushed their way for a glimpse of the crude cross erected by members of the Historical Society of St. Boniface who discovered and excavated the site in 1908. The experience of these few tourists made still more evident the need for a thorough re-excavation of the site. When the large boats left American Point at about four o'clock they sailed up the inlet past the fort site before starting on the return trip, which, though rough, was uneventful. Clouds that threatened rain in the late afternoon lifted just before 8:30 P.M., and the tourists were privileged to view a glorious northern sunset. A short time later the water tower at Warroad was sighted, and just before ten o'clock the boats landed. A late dinner, the main course of which consisted of Lake of the Woods sturgeon, was served at the Hotel Warroad.

Southward the travelers turned their course on the morning of June 21, when they set out for Bemidji, near the headwaters of the Mississippi. There, at 1:30 P.M., about eighty people gathered in the Hotel Markham for the final session of the tour. Senator Lawson, who presided, introduced the first speaker, Mr. Henry Z. Mitchell, editor of the *Bemidji Pioneer*, by announcing that he comes from a family of distinguished editors, that includes the courageous Jane Grey Swisshelm. Mr. Mitchell discussed "Local History Work in Northern Minnesota" with special reference to Beltrami County, where considerable historical work has been accomplished under WPA auspices, although a county historical society has not yet been organized. A number of romantic tales connected with the historical backgrounds of the county were recalled by the speaker, who expressed regret that they are not always founded on fact. He cited, for example, the legend of the Indian maiden whose tears formed Lake Itasca, and he asserted that he preferred to believe this tale despite the fact that proof of another origin for the name had recently been confirmed. He

closed his sparkling and informal talk by urging the visitors to attend the pageant to be staged at Itasca State Park in the present summer. He was followed by Mr. F. T. Gustavson, who described the Chippewa Museum at Cass Lake, which was established last November by a WPA project of which he is supervisor. Its chief purpose, according to Mr. Gustavson, is to gather and preserve examples of Indian artcraft and to encourage the continuation of these crafts. Both modern art objects and archaeological specimens are displayed in the museum, which is located in the Cass Lake Armory. The museum, said the speaker, acts as the custodian of the Chippewa Region Historical Society, which, though recently organized, has a membership of fifty. He invited the tourists to visit the museum, and some of them, including Mr. Blegen and Senator Lawson, accepted his invitation.

"Historic Sites and the National Park Service" was the subject discussed by the next speaker, Mr. Edward A. Hummel, assistant historian, with headquarters at Omaha, Nebraska, of the National Park Service. He pointed out that the first historic sites were acquired by the federal government some forty years ago, when the war department purchased certain Civil War battlefields. These and other sites were turned over to the National Park Service for administration when it was established in 1916. A historical division was not organized until 1932, when Mr. Verne E. Chatelain, formerly of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society, became the first historian. Since that time the park service, said Mr. Hummel, "has become the administrator or consultant on practically all historical preservation work carried out with federal funds." He estimated that about three-fifths of the sites now administered by the park service are of historical or archaeological significance. Such sites are selected for their recreational and educational value and for their value as "source materials in the study of history." "We are now making a survey of historic sites

in order to determine which can best be used to illustrate the general history of the United States," said Mr. Hummel. Those selected will "be designated as national historic sites." The audience was happy to hear the speaker suggest that the site of Fort St. Charles might well be so designated.

As a final number on the program, a study of the name "Itasca" by Dr. William J. Petersen of the State Historical Society of Iowa, which was published in the June issue of *MINNESOTA HISTORY*, was presented in his absence by Mr. Blegen.⁵ It is too bad to allow the historians to "dry up Itasca's tears," he said in answer to Mr. Mitchell. Nevertheless, that is just what Dr. Petersen has done by finding contemporary evidence that this musical name is derived from the Latin words "veritas caput." The pleasure that Mr. Mitchell receives from romance, however, said Mr. Blegen, can be more than matched by a historian's excitement and thrill of joy when he solves a problem and succeeds in finding the truth. The speaker then reviewed briefly the story of the discovery of Lake Itasca and of the problems involved in the name that it received from Henry R. Schoolcraft in 1832, and he read a part of the explorer's letter telling of its origin. As the session closed, Mr. William H. Bovey of Minneapolis rose and made a motion, which was unanimously acclaimed, that a vote of thanks be extended to Mr. Babcock, the manager of the tour, and to Mr. Blegen for their work in arranging the society's most enjoyable and successful convention.⁶

Although officially the tour came to an end with the close of this session, most of the tourists went to Douglas Lodge at Itasca State Park for the night. In the evening they explored from a launch the beautiful lake that was first made known by Schoolcraft, and on the following morning they were guided by an official from the local CCC camp to the

⁵ Dr. Petersen's introduction and the Schoolcraft letter are reprinted in the *Bemidji Daily Pioneer* of June 21.

⁶ Another account of the tour and convention, by Gertrude Gove, is to be found in the *Windom Reporter* for July 9, 16, and 23.

point where the Mississippi leaves the lake to begin its long journey to the Gulf of Mexico. The morning's trip led them, too, past several of the glistening lakes that nestle in the Itasca basin and over beautiful woodland paths edged by towering pines. Here surely is a spot that combines the recreational facilities and historical interest described by Mr. Hummel. All felt that fortunate is the state for which such a site was preserved before it was spoiled by the hand of man.

As the historical tourists of 1937 made their way back to the Twin Cities through the Mississippi Valley on June 22 they remembered that they had seen on the international boundary another spot which shares with Itasca the appeal of scenic beauty and historical interest. They had visited a wilderness lake that has changed little since a gallant French explorer lived upon its shores, and had followed through a maze of wooded islands the course traced by his voyageurs more than two centuries ago. And they knew that now they could understand better the story of the trading explorer who was lured into the American wilderness by tales of the western sea. By retracing his steps, they had learned something about La Vérendrye that could not be gained from books. And so, as they parted, the tourists expressed the hope that, just as Schoolcraft's discovery is commemorated at Itasca, the exploits of La Vérendrye will soon be commemorated at the site of his Minnesota fort. B.L.H.

SOME SOURCES FOR NORTHWEST HISTORY

MINNESOTA FARMERS' DIARIES¹

This nation has been predominantly an agricultural nation for the greater part of its existence. Since most of its early inhabitants, at least, gained their living by tilling the soil, a history of the American people should have as its central core the history of American agriculture. This history remains to be written. And when it is written, it must be based on sources as yet little touched by the research student. An outstanding authority on American agricultural history writes:

The importance of preserving farmers' account books, diaries, letters, and reminiscences for the use of research workers is being realized increasingly. Of similar significance are country-store account books, mill records, old farm periodicals and rural newspapers, pamphlets, reports and programs of agricultural societies, and pictures of all phases of rural life. These commonplace documents of the past are the necessary sources of the information used by historians and economists in making analyses of our past agricultural and economic life.

These materials supply research workers with many facts not obtainable elsewhere. They furnish data indicating the course of farmers' standards of living; they show the influence of the competition of various agricultural sections, the changing conditions and wages of farm labor, the ups and downs of various systems of farm management, and the trend of crop acreages. They afford figures on the cost of fertilizers, machinery, twine, and other supplies and information on yields, disease epidemics, the dates of the introduction of new varieties and breeds, and new cultural practices.²

The Minnesota Historical Society is fortunate in having not only a relatively large number of farmers' diaries, but also a number of farmers' account books, letters, and mem-

¹ A paper read at a meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society in the Historical Building, St. Paul, on April 12, 1937.

² Everett E. Edwards, "Farmers' Account Books, Diaries, Etc., Are Often Valuable Research Aids," in United States Department of Agriculture, *Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1932, p. 197 (Washington, 1932).

oirs. The present article is based only on material found in the farmers' diaries and is limited to the period preceding 1885. Unfortunately diaries for the northern part of the state are not now available, so this study is limited to the southern part of the state. A number of articles on various phases of frontier life previously published in MINNESOTA HISTORY will be found useful in the study of farming conditions in the pioneer period.³

The weather, that stock topic of conversation, received constant notice in the diaries of Minnesota farmers. Nearly all the entries contain a record of the weather, and often the daily variations in temperature and the direction of the wind are given, even when there is little else. "I have made entries of each day," John R. Cummins wrote in 1855, "more though of the weather than of other things, because having determined, so to make entries, the weather, though possessing little interest compared with other things, yet still has some; and my own doings, on a farm, possessing still less, I was necessi[t]ated as it were, to confine myself to that topic."⁴

For most farmers this interest in the weather was not just curiosity or an effort to lay up a stock of conversational material; it was a demonstration of the great concern which every farmer had in that most important and incalculable factor of farm life. In the winter a sudden, heavy snow-storm might block the roads, prevent the mail from getting through, and keep the farmer from hauling wood, grain, or ice. On February 5, 1884, Allen W. Dawley recorded:

³ See, for example, Frank E. Balmer, "The Farmer and Minnesota History," *ante*, 7:199-217; Grace Lee Nute, "Wilderness Marthas," *ante*, 8:247-259; William A. Marin, "Sod Houses and Prairie Schooners," *ante*, 12:135-156; Ida Pickett Bell, "A Pioneer Family of the Middle Border," *ante*, 14:303-315; and Evadene A. Burris, "Keeping House on the Minnesota Frontier," "Frontier Food," "Building the Frontier Home," and "Furnishing the Frontier Home," *ante*, 14:262-282, 378-392; 15:43-55, 181-193.

⁴ Cummins Diary, December 31, 1855. Cummins lived at Eden Prairie, in Hennepin County.

"Snowed nearly Six inches last night making nearly 2 feet on the level. Day fine and clear, towards night indications of more Snow Took most of the day to dig out and then did not more than half do it." Two days later he wrote: "Snow getting so deep it is difficult to get around and consequently do not do much but chore and do not do that very Well." Sometimes a sudden thaw prevented the farmer from hauling farm produce by making the roads impassably muddy. If spring came late, plowing and seeding were retarded, and late frosts sometimes injured tender crops. Cold, wet summers blasted the grain crops, injured the hay, and slowed up the growth of corn; a drought could be a calamity, and, if accompanied by wind, might even result in a "dust blizzard." But it was during the grain harvest, and this was especially true before the use of the string binder, that the farmer worried most about the weather. Cutting grain with a cradle was a slow, laborious task, and even after the advent of the reaper there was still the job of binding the grain by hand. Under these conditions a hard, sudden rain might find the unbound grain lying on the ground and drive the heads into the soft soil, where it sometimes sprouted before it could be rescued. On September 1, 1875, Dawley wrote: "Rained hard the most of the night. Cleared off today and looks as if we might have some pleasant weather. Grain in bad condition Get [*sic*] some of it out to dry. Unless it stands up straight and well capped it is thoroughly soaked. Some of it has commenced to grow."⁵ Sometimes a rain wet a half-built stack of grain so that it was necessary to dry out the sheaves and rebuild the stack. Through the vagaries of the weather, as the diaries show, the pioneer farmers frequently were forced to face such misfortunes.

Ordinarily, the diaries are of small literary value. Written probably just before bedtime by the light of an oil lamp

⁵ Dawley Diary, September 1, 1875; February 5, 7, 1884. Dawley settled at Smithfield, in Wabasha County.

or a candle, recording the labors of a regular, uneventful existence, they are a running commentary on the day's work and the weather, careless in spelling and punctuation, but withal a surprisingly faithful record. Occasionally, however, a diarist shows some literary skill, as, for example, Mitchell Y. Jackson. The first of the following extracts from his diary was written in 1856 on his fortieth birthday:

The stream of time flows with accelerated velocity as we grow older. Forty Years! How long when looked at from the head of the stream and yet how short when viewed from the other end. How vividly and how indelibly is impressed upon the tablet of our memory all the windings and ripples and little eddies of the miniature stream of our childhood.

In the second, Jackson recalls, after his removal to Minnesota, the maple sugar camps of Indiana:

But we have no sugar making here. No making of sugar troughs — spiles — furnaces camps etc. My boys will know nothing of the pleasant excitement of the hurry & bustle of the "sugar-making." Sugar camps are perhaps the strongest marked localities of my boyhood. . . . And now at this distance I can almost smell the smoke and see the blazing fire as it used to shine upon the huge forest trees through the thick black darkness of an Indiana sugar-making night. With equal distinctness can I see the pearly drops and hear the peculiar trickling of the saccharine fluid as it flows from the spiles upon a bright, frosty, sunshiny morning — such as this.⁶

Occasional bits, such as these, color and enliven the diaries, but they are all too few. Lack of color, however, does not detract from their historical value. What they lack in literary value they gain in objectivity. Through their medium farming operations can be traced day by day. In the winter months the farmer cut, hauled, and split firewood, rails, and posts, butchered a hog, cleaned out the stable, hauled manure to the fields, or filled the icehouse. Concerning the last task one farmer noted: "They manage to get out ice here in quick time cut it in long cakes and hitch horses to it, which can pull out pieces 2 ft wide & 10 to 14

⁶ Jackson Diary, April 13, August 10, 1856. Jackson's farm was in Lakeland Township near Lake St. Croix.

ft long."⁷ Winter's blanket of snow furnished easy traction and made possible the drawing of heavy loads of grain, wood, or ice on sleds. During severe cold spells, or when the snow was too deep for ordinary tasks, the farmer's work was confined to the barn, where he threshed grain or beans left over from the fall months, or made wheelbarrows, ax handles, and ox yokes. Occasionally he tracked deer over freshly fallen snow or fished through the ice on the lakes.

In the month of March, which was often half winter and half spring, the farmer chopped firewood, made and mended tools, planted garden seeds in hotbeds, plowed perhaps, but more probably fretted about the late spring. Some farmers tapped maple trees for syrup, but this operation was not always successful, since the neighborhood boys had a way of boiling down the sap on the sly and eating the maple sugar. April and May were occupied with planting operations. The farmer sowed a variety of crops: wheat, oats, barley, rye, corn, broomcorn, sorghum cane, hay, and garden vegetables from beets to turnips, and he set out apple trees and strawberry plants. Corn plowing and vegetable cultivating occupied most of June and the early part of July and kept the farmer engaged in a constant battle with weeds, cutworms, and potato bugs. Apparently some of the most troublesome weeds were brought in by the settlers. "It is strange how fast weeds have spread in this country," Cummins wrote in 1857; "only settled five years, and now, wild buckwheat and barn grass cover whole fields." To the early settlers grasshoppers were a greater danger than weeds. "During this month without doubt they did the most mischief," wrote Cummins in July, 1857. "Wheat fields that previously looked middling well though damaged considerably in a day or two, would over large pieces, in many places the $\frac{1}{2}$ or three fourths, would be actually leveled with the ground, and eaten all up. In the corn fields they would eat off stocks 8 or 10 feet high, and after it fell

⁷ Cummins Diary, February 4, 1858.

clean it all up."⁸ Fortunately these pests did not remain all summer, but flew away about the middle of August.

The harvest season lasted from the middle of July until perhaps the first of September. It was a time of hot and strenuous work, with ripe hay and grain needing to be cut and shocked or stacked. This was the time when bad weather might ruin the farmers' hopes for successful crops — days with much to do and scarcely enough time to accomplish all. In September and October the farmer was hardly less busy. Grain needed threshing and the early threshing machines did not always work satisfactorily. One farmer noted in 1868: "Threshed out 240 bus. of wheat, a small days work indeed a good deal of time lost by breaking" of the threshing machine.⁹ Besides threshing grain, the farmer had to cut and shock or husk corn; dig or gather beans, hops, grapes, squash, pumpkins, and potatoes; and pick garden seeds. He hauled loads of grain and vegetables to town, and while there, he often attended an agricultural fair. The house was banked with dirt and straw in November and preparations were made for the winter. Supplies were hauled from town and plowing, threshing, and cornhusking were carried forward. The cold days of December brought butchering, wood chopping, and deer hunting. Thus, farming operations can be followed through the year.

The diaries tell something about agricultural tools and implements. The tools that the pioneers used in the forties were for the most part homemade. Except for the prairie plow and the ax, the farmer had to purchase few of his implements in the outside world. With his ax he fashioned sleds, harrows, rollers or drags, wagon boxes, whipstocks, oxbows, and yokes from white oak or ash. From the neighboring blacksmith he got shoes for his oxen, pitchforks, and perhaps scythe blades. His grain was cut with a cradle,

⁸ Cummins Diary, August 27, 1857; memoranda, 1857.

⁹ Cummins Diary, September 11, 1858.

threshed with a flail or by the hooves of oxen or horses, and winnowed by the wind. At a near-by mill the grain was ground into grist or flour. The farmers of the forties found markets for their products at Fort Snelling and on the steamboats that carried their supplies.

The settlers who came in the next decade brought a variety of tools with them. The appearance in the middle fifties of the threshing machine, motivated by horsepower, made the flail unnecessary, except for flax. Even in the late sixties the flail was used to thresh flaxseed. In 1869 Cummins wrote: "at work on the flax threshing with a flail but it does no[t] pay. We threshed only two bus. about 48 sheaves make a bus. or about twice as much as wheat." The next day, tired of the flail, Cummins reverted to an older practice. "At work treading out flax with the horses We got about 10 bus. today. much better than with a flail." A reaper mentioned as early as 1856 was surprisingly enough of the self-rake type, but reapers and mowing machines were not common until the Civil War years. Even as late as 1865 the owner of one machine traveled about reaping his neighbors' grain for a dollar an acre without horses or a dollar and a quarter an acre if he furnished both horses and reaper.¹⁰

Jackson contrasted methods used in 1860 with those followed in his boyhood.

Commence the new harvest by cutting my Rye The old familiar clatter of the reaping machine sounds quite natural Though there is nothing about it that reminds me of harvest as conducted in the days of my boy hood. Then the old simple crooked sickle then the more formidable looking cradle were the only implements known. Now the machine drawn by 2 or 4 horses cuts its throng of four to six feet as fast as the team can walk. and from four to six men are busy binding and setting up the sheaves.¹¹

The reaper, however, did not entirely displace the cradle for

¹⁰ Cummins Diary, November 26, 27, 1869; Francis B. Larpenteur Journal, July 12, 1856; Dawley Diary, memoranda, 1865. Larpenteur's farm was near St. Paul.

¹¹ Jackson Diary, July 13, 1860.

a generation. In the eighties it was a common practice to cut several swaths around the edges of a grainfield with a cradle before entering with a reaper.

A study of the diaries shows that the reaper was beneficial to the farmer in two important respects—it made him less dependent on long stretches of good weather in harvest time, since the grain could be cut much more quickly; and it made possible an increase in the size of grainfields. Of course other factors enter into the causes for the increase in the size of fields and plantings—railroads and the growth of markets, for example—but much of the increase was made possible by the introduction and subsequent improvement of the reaper.

The diaries offer occasional bits of information about the prices of farm lands, both in the West and in the East. Although available data is scanty, it seems likely that land prices varied according to the time, place, kind of land, and number of purchasers, and that expensive land in the East and cheap land in West led to the migration of many persons from the middle Atlantic states, particularly Pennsylvania and Rhode Island. In 1857 some Minnesota land was selling for fifteen dollars an acre, while in Pennsylvania land "along the Delaware has been selling for rather high prices. Some of it having brought 500 dollars an acre."¹²

The prices of farm produce and farm supplies are frequently mentioned, and the fall in the prices of grain after the harvest and their gradual rise about the beginning of each new year to a culminating point usually in June can be traced. The effects of panics and the impact of a depression or a wartime inflation upon farm prices and income can be followed. The panic of 1857 was felt in Minnesota by October of that year, and by January, 1858, money was so scarce that farmers had to resort to barter. By September, 1858, however, it was said that: "Times are on the mend

¹² Jackson Diary, January 25, 1857; Cummins Diary, March 3, 1857.

when money is so plenty, that buyers will come up the [Minnesota] river for produce." A year later things were different. Wheat and oats which had sold for a dollar and a half a bushel in June, 1857, were selling in August, 1859, for fifty and fifteen cents respectively. "At such prices," one farmer complained, "it is about useless to try to farm." Later he remarked that "What with failure of banks, hard times and so on, things are about used up in this country at present; it is almost impossible [to] get any money."¹³ Thus the farmer described economic conditions, good or bad, and they were frequently bad.

Some of the reasons for the enmity of the farmer for the middlemen and the towns, which developed later into the Granger and Populist movements, can be found in the diaries. In 1857 a farmer noted: "The store keepers in the west are generally a little more giving to asking more than the value of an article than they would take; but it is the case more or less everywhere." And again: "The store keepers work a game here [in Minneapolis] not very profitable to the farmer. They will tell a farmer so and so sold potatoes at so much, and you must or we wont buy." In 1859 the following was recorded: "To give an idea how the lumberman cheat[s], for 1500 feet, I had only 1300." Here is another similar complaint: "Went to town with a load of flax. it lost a good deal in weight by some means." Such incidents as these deepened the distrust of the farmers for the townsmen and the moneyed interests. The farmer was only infrequently in a position to bargain, but on one memorable occasion a farmer reported: "Wheat is quite high; there being so much opposition between the Minneapolis buyers and Duffy of Shakopee, the price is ten to 20 cts higher than at Minneapolis some days running, it up to 170."¹⁴ Generally the farmer felt himself at the mercy

¹³ Cummins Diary, September 15, 1858; August 26, November 17, 1859.

¹⁴ Cummins Diary, April 4, August 29, 1857; September 20, 1859; October 9, 1867; December 8, 1869.

of the town buyer or seller who only too frequently took advantage of his superior position and knowledge.

The farmer's social life revolved to a large extent around the schoolhouse. With its adjoining lot, it functioned as polling place, caucus hall, public forum, clubhouse, church, funeral parlor, theater, and picnic ground. It was quite natural that the schoolhouse should be variously used by the community, since it was the sole public meetinghouse in the neighborhood—at least, until a church was built—and many of the farmer's amusements had an educational tinge. For instance, lyceums were held at the schoolhouse. The lyceum program usually consisted of a paper on some subject of general or educational interest, followed by a debate. On February 24, 1856, Jackson reported that he "attended Lyceum at Lakeland last evening. had quite an interesting meetings of Gents & Ladies Question Is the Liquor dealer the biggest scoundrel in the world. Affirmative carried."

Singing meetings, spelling bees, Sunday school festivals, temperance meetings, dramatic entertainments, panorama shows, and Christmas celebrations with community trees were all held in the schoolhouse. The last day of school, usually early in March, was a day of open house to parents. Dawley, who was a schoolteacher as well as a farmer, described one of these occasions: "School closed today & quite a crowd of visitors were in in the afternoon & quite a number of pieces were Spoken by the Scholars and we had a first-rate time Wound up by having a Spelling School in the Evening."¹⁵ On July 4 a picnic was usually held at the schoolhouse. A speech or a reading of the Declaration of Independence was followed by a dinner, and then part of the audience adjourned to the baseball field.

The farmer had other means of recreation besides those connected with the schoolhouse. Library associations were formed as early as 1856, and books, magazines, and newspapers were far from unknown on the farm itself. Some

¹⁵ Dawley Diary, March 4, 1870.

of the newspapers and magazines that the farmer read were the *Daily Pioneer and Democrat* of St. Paul, the *Weekly Herald* and the *Weekly Tribune*, both of New York, the *Fireside Companion*, *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, and the *American Agriculturist*. In 1856 a club was formed at Lakeland to subscribe to the *Northwestern Farmer and Horticultural Journal*.¹⁰ Farmers' clubs are mentioned in 1856 and agricultural societies, in the late sixties, but the Grange is not mentioned until 1874. What went on in these clubs is not recorded. They may have been partly political; certainly the Grange was.

Not all the social life of the farmer was as serious and educational in its objects as the above may suggest. Among other amusements in which he indulged were euchre, "pea Nuckle," backgammon, parchesi, chequers, and croquet. There were dances in the homes, and recreation for all members of the family was offered at candy pulls, parties, sewing and quilting bees, housewarmings, ice-cream festivals, and sleigh rides, or in skating, berrypicking, hunting, fishing in summer and winter alike, and swimming. By 1856 fairs and "Young Ladies Grand Exhibitions" were held, and when the state fair came, there was horse racing. As early as 1857 a circus came to St. Paul. Ten years later at least one farmer attended a baseball game between teams from Minneapolis and St. Paul. St. Paul won, but the score was not recorded. Professional theatrical entertainments, with such plays as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and the "Union Spy," were running in St. Paul in the decade following the Civil War. The social amusements of the farmer, however, for the most part depended upon his own efforts.

Two things in the attitude of the frontier prairie farmer toward religion can be noted in the diaries. One was the

¹⁰ Edward B. Drew Diary, April 13, 1858; Henry C. Fridley Diary, February 2, 1867; Dawley Diary, January 25, 1866; November 25, 1867; September 5, 1876; Jackson Diary, December 14, 1856. Drew resided in Winona County and Fridley, in Anoka County.

leveling effect that the frontier had upon sectarianism. Jackson wrote in 1855: "It also seems pleasant to witness the studied concealment of sectarian names." The other was the tenacious hold that the farmer maintained upon certain common religious symbols, such as refraining from work on Sunday and assembling for common worship. Pastors were scarce in the early days, but their absence did not prevent services from being held. Cummins wrote in 1868: "Went to church but there was no preaching the other services were not very interesting." Although the pastor's cash income was pitifully small—one minister is reported in 1856 to have received but seventy-three dollars a year—it was undoubtedly supplemented by gifts in kind. In return the pastor was expected to preach an acceptable sermon. The farmer was not slow to criticize the sermon or the services. One or both might be too long. If he had words of praise for the "eloquent" Bishop Whipple, he could also dismiss another sermon as "nothing extra," or even make a more caustic comment, such as this: "Went to church, preaching by Bible agent minister but not much good in him by appearance, false pair teeth and eye brows."¹⁷

The subject of politics is generally dismissed with a comment such as this, made in 1876: "Put in a good honest vote for Hayes & Wheeler." Sometimes the comments take a sharper form. Jackson wrote in 1857 that the new state constitution "allows all whitemen that have been here 10 days to vote. And the way the 'dear Irish' are marched up to vote the *Dimmicratic* ticket is a sin against heaven & earth. . . . I think there were from 50 to 100 votes polled here by persons having no interest in the affairs of Minnesota." Another diarist remarked in 1862: "Staid in town and went to the republican convention; there is a good deal of rascality going on in a Political meeting." Local politics get a little more attention than national affairs, but the com-

¹⁷ Jackson Diary, June 24, 1855; Cummins Diary, July 20, 1856; September 6, October 4, 1868.

ments are usually sparing of information. A delightful exception is the following: "Good news from Election Wabasha ahead on the Co Seat by 2000 votes Wab cast 4158 votes Pretty well done considering it contains only about 1500 inhabitants."¹⁸

The diaries tell little of the life of the farm wife and the conditions under which she labored. Although she was usually kept out of the fields, in times of great necessity she might do a man's work. One farmer recorded: "Olive plowed and I worked on my pasture fence." And on another occasion: "Commenced to Stack Olive helped me."¹⁹ The farm wife's usual work was carried on in the house and the barnyard. She made hard and soft soap, put up preserves and pickles, made strawberry shortcake, and on Thanksgiving Day prepared a turkey or a feast of oysters, sausages, mince and pumpkin pies, cake, and sauce. The piano was not unknown on the farm in 1856, and the sewing machine was a possibility fifteen years later. Screen doors were available by 1881 and papered walls and washing machines were on the farm by 1885. On the whole, however, the entries covering the activities of the farm wife are surprisingly few.

The diaries are useful for a study of prices, both of farm products and farm supplies. By recording the goods which the farmer bought, they furnish clues to his standard of living and show a gradual rise in the level of comfort of farm life. Varieties of crops and their yields, new crops and their usefulness, and the weights of livestock are sometimes recorded. A mass of incidental information, also, such as the cost of railway transportation and the names of steamboats, can be found in the diaries.

There are obvious limitations upon the value of farmers' diaries to the historian. The entries are usually short

¹⁸ Jackson Diary, October 13, 1857; Cummins Diary, September 20, 1862; Dawley Diary, November 13, 1867; November 7, 1876.

¹⁹ Dawley Diary, May 15, August 13, 1885.

and are confined to comments on the day's labors, and the farmer's milieu is described casually, if at all. The entries give comparatively little information about the breeds of livestock and the varieties of grains that the farmer raised, his shifts from one breed or crop to another, and his reasons for making them. The diaries ignore the things that the farmer took for granted—his clothes, the interior of his house, his tools, his wife. All in all, however, there is a surprising amount of valuable historical material in farmers' diaries, not only for the history of farm life alone, but also for other phases of American history. The diaries convey to the reader something that is difficult to transfer to any account of them: the atmosphere of farm life, an appreciation of its struggles, hopes, and defeats. Those who are interested in the history of a great agricultural state are deeply grateful to those faithful, recording Minnesota farmers who kept diaries.

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

PROMOTING SETTLEMENT IN THE SIXTIES

The following letter was written in 1864 by Spencer Armstrong, who emigrated from Indiana and settled in northern Faribault County, Minnesota, to Abraham Shanklin, a friend and former neighbor living near Owensburg in Jackson Township, Greene County, Indiana. It was found some years ago in an old box in a long-vacant family farmhouse by Shanklin's daughter, Mrs. Charlotte Brown of Jasonville, Indiana, from whom the present writer obtained it. With it Mrs. Brown found the remains of several other letters, written on similar stationery, but so badly damaged by mice that they could not be deciphered. The present letter was slightly mutilated in the same manner, making impossible the reading of some brief passages. Apparently Shanklin never followed his friend to Minnesota, for he lived and died in Indiana. Of the subsequent history of the Armstrongs, little is known to the present writer. The records of Faribault County show that in 1870 Armstrong received from the United States a patent on a piece of land that he and his wife sold three years later for a thousand dollars. It was later valued at over twenty thousand dollars.

CHARLES M. THOMAS

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
COLUMBUS

SPENCER ARMSTRONG TO ABRAHAM SHANKLIN, August 15, 16, 1864

[A.L.S.]

COBB RIVER P.O. WASECA COUNTY MINN.¹

August the 15th, 1864.

DEAR FRIENDS: I seat myself this evening to let you know that I

¹ Cobb River post office was south of the Big Cobb River in section 32, Vivian Township, in the extreme southwest corner of Waseca County. See *Burritt's Sectional and Township Map of Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1870).

just received your welcome letter about 10 minutes ago. I am tremendous busy puting up hay but I will quit work any time to write to a friend that wants to move to Minn. We were glad you had better think to hear from you all. we are in common health for which we are thankful to the giver of ever good and perfect gifts. Now about the times, times are good except in way of Dry-goods, Wages are good, stock demands a good price, Wheat (old) 2 dollars per bushel (100) miles to market or less if you sell 20 miles from home (say 1.25) Now about crops: crops are very good and the season good. I suppose wheat will yield from 25 to 40 bushels, it did last season, and this has been a better season than last, corn looks well, Oats and Barley is good, Potatoes good, and the greatest country for them and turnips you ever heard of, I guess. Now about a Farm; there is all chances any man want. there is 160 acres of good land with (I am informed) 30 acres of timber on it and a small creek (called a river here) running through it, the water lasts all the year, for sale at 1200 dollars, there is considerable improvements on [MS. torn] Farm is 3 miles from me. If you [MS. torn] can surely suit yourself here now before land comes up which it will [MS. torn] year or two. But if you wish to Homeste[ad] one hundred and sixty acres you will have to go out too far west to suit you to get timber closer than 2 or 3 miles, that is my judgement now, you might do better if you were here to look around a little. You can get plenty of water any where (almoste) on the Prairies by digging 6 feet for stock and 10 to 25 for family use Abraham I could tell you a great deal about Minn. But it is useless, you or any other man can do well in this country. you say you cannot ask many questions, well I suppose I have answered all or nearly all you could ask. here your stock can get grass to eat all summer from 6 inches to 3 feet high, and you can cut and put up wild hay enough to keep all your cattle and sheep & not cost you one cent but your labor. it takes 3 tunn of hay for a cow bruit, and you can cut and put up $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 tunn per day. now Abraham dont think bosh, for you will find it just so if you come out. Tell Miner Pate to think of coming too this country beats Illinois in a good many points, it is now night mu[MS. torn] moring and go to milk

Aug. 16th, Elizabeth is not well this morning.

This is the healthiest country I have ever been in. Now Abe if you come the sooner the better. There will be a big emigration again this fall, last spring was a great emigration Minn. is settling up very fast, and those who come first will do the best. One year ago there was about $\frac{1}{6}$ th of this Township taken and now there is just 40 acres vacant that I know of.² there was 160 acres of land sold for 625 dollars this summer in 3 miles of us, 30 acres of timber on it and a creek running through it. Now we want you to be sure and come to Minn. and Miner Pate. we want good church members, good citizens, and good Hoosiers in Minnesota Tell all who are such, there are plenty of room in this state. Be sure and come to Faribault County, I have travelled through Fil[l]more, Olmstead, Steel[e], Dodge, Rice, La Leasure [*Le Sueur*], Blue Earth, Martain [*Martin*], Freeborn, Goodhue and Faribault counties, in all I have travelled about 700 miles in Minn. and Faribault county beats all for me including Waseca county. I would give you a way bill [if] I knew you would come. I will give you the most important points anyhow, commencing at Tarre haut Id. Paris, Bloomfilld [*Bromfield*], Bloomington, Lasalle, Dixon, Galena, Dunlieth, (Ill.) on the Mississippi River,³ Dubuque (Iowa,) Decorah, (Minn.)⁴ El[l]iota,⁵ Preston, Rochester, Rice Lake, Owatonia [*Owatonna*] Wilton, Cobb River Post Office Spencer Armstrongs $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles south of the P. O.⁶ Now come along and dont wait for trifles but you and Miner move immediately to a good, healthy country. never mind freezing, I would rather winter here than Ind. I have tried both, and I have travelled

² Armstrong's farm was in the "Southeast Quarter of Section 7-104-24," Dunbar Township, Faribault County. See Faribault County Deeds, book U, p. 300, in the office of the register of deeds at Blue Earth.

³ East Dubuque, Illinois, formerly was known as Dunleith.

⁴ Decorah is in Winneshiek County, Iowa, about twenty miles south of the Minnesota boundary.

⁵ Eliota was in Canton Township, Fillmore County, just north of the Iowa boundary.

⁶ The route recommended by Armstrong is substantially the same as that marked today by United States Highway Number 52 from central Illinois to Rochester. He advised Shanklin to follow well-defined roads as far as Owatonna. From that point the trail to Armstrong's farm led southwest across Waseca County, into the northwest corner of Dunbar Township, Faribault County. The farm was in the third tier of sections to the south and one to the west of the section in which Cobb River was located.

over Prairie countrys enough to know a good one when I see it.
Now Abe, write immediately and let me hear from you.

Yours respectfully as ever, (write)

SPENCER ARMSTRONG and family

to ABRAHAM SHANKLIN and family)

Please read this letter to Emily Fields.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Roosevelt to Roosevelt: The United States in the Twentieth Century.

By DWIGHT LOWELL DUMOND, associate professor of history,
University of Michigan. (New York, Henry Holt and Com-
pany, 1937. ix, 585 p. \$3.50.)

Professor Dumond has achieved notable success in attempting a synthesis of the holocaust of events that occurred in the years from 1900 to 1936. He has written a wholesome book — scholarly, stimulating, and in some respects challenging. He has a keen sense of social and political values, so penetrating that one lays down the book with a feeling of despair. There are rays of hope striving to break through the ever-accumulating clouds of error, futility, false issues, petty partisanship, sectional rivalry, ineptitude, ruthless exploitation, peanut politics, and clogged political machinery. Fortunately for the reader, but unfortunately for the country, the brightest ray of hope is reserved for the last paragraph. Referring to the election of 1936, Dumond says: "Above everything else, men refused to vote against a man who took a despairing and misgoverned nation, in one of the darkest hours of its history, and set its face toward the light, gave renewed hope and courage to its people, saved its homes and extended a helping hand to its young men and women." The perspective of later generations may reverse this verdict; but the events that gallop through the pages of Dumond's book point the way to disaster and despair in 1929 and some hope, however faint, in 1936.

Mr. Dumond writes from the point of view of a liberal. His chapter on the "Post-War Reaction," with its sordid pages on the Ku Klux Klan, fundamentalism, red-baiting, and teachers' oaths, leaves the reader in no doubt about that. Unfortunately, those who might be tempted to quarrel with his point of view will have to convince the court that they have been tested in the stern and exacting school of research from which Dumond's book is a bona fide diploma. Of the seven presidents who stand before the bar of history, Wilson towers as a great moral force, a brilliant student of government, one of a select group "whose intellectual achievements taken together have created social progress." "He looked not to genius but to character

to sustain the nation." Theodore Roosevelt fares rather badly, especially for his treatment of Taft in the Bull Moose campaign. In contrast with Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, however, the exponent of the "square deal" is lined up with Taft and Wilson as presidents who saw the danger to American institutions unless individualism could be halted in its mad march to disaster.

"Returning security makes it easy to forget, after four years, the dark pall of disaster which had settled over the country," says Mr. Dumond. His book makes it easy to remember.

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MINNEAPOLIS

The West in American History. By DAN ELBERT CLARK, professor of history, University of Oregon. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1937. xi, 682 p. \$3.50.)

Here is an account of the westward movement in the United States. The stage is selected, namely, that area of the continent now divided into the forty-eight states; the drama is divided into three acts, "The West under Spain, France, and England," "The Frontier of the Middle West," and "The Frontier of the Far West." A large cast of characters is presented. One may at times doubt whether he is witnessing a presentation of a history of the frontier, but, as to the westward movement, he is assured of plenty of that, for there is much stage business in getting the actors from place to place.

Part one, "The West under Spain, France, and England," follows the usual pattern. Perhaps the dismissal of the Spanish and the French with the statement that, "although their presence and activities . . . are a part of the background of the history of the West, their colonial policies and their governmental institutions have not been described, since they left no significant, permanent impress upon American development," might elicit such questions as "What West?" and "What America?" from the Bolton converts. Still we must accept the author's own delimitation, the expansion of the English colonies, Canada excepted. With the chapter, "A Rival Enters the Field," the author gets down to the business of getting these colonies on the move. Adequate attention is given to the English fur

trader, French and English rivalries, colonial land schemes, and the expansion into the Old West. The casual reader, interested in the evolution of the frontier, may regret that our first frontiers on Massachusetts Bay and the James River are not dealt with on the ground that they were frontiers of England and did not remain frontiers very long anyway. But those of the Turnerian school will be patient, for, as everyone knows, the place to discuss frontier evolution is after one gets well out into the Middle West. Still what happened in Plymouth, Salem, or Jamestown may be as significant to the student of the frontier as the doings in Watauga, Marietta, or Detroit. As for the frontier society of the colonial back country, little is done with it, save to quote Turner as to the individualism of that "democratic, self-sufficing, primitive agricultural society" and to express the author's regret that "we cannot stop to examine the effects of colonial intermixture, similarity of geographical environment and isolation." One might wish that he had lingered a bit here, even if some of the romantic details of what happened "beyond the ranges" had been omitted.

In part two, "The Frontier of the Middle West," the author gets to the heart of his subject. Here is the perfect setting for that concept of the frontier which is a compound of Jacksonian democracy, Middle Western agrarianism, and a nostalgia for the *fin de siècle*, for what had been or what is supposed to have been, but which has regrettably disappeared. The treatment, as Dr. Clark points out in his preface, is topical rather than chronological. The swarming over the mountains, the pushing back of the Indian, the development of transportation, state making, the fight for free land, and the problem of frontier finance are described and evaluated. There is also a glance at frontier society and at cultural beginnings. Three main groups of romantic interpreters of the frontier are listed, but this list does not include the western historian. Since the material is handled in a topical form, the task of integration is difficult. In the performance of this, the author has not been particularly successful, and the reader is left to work out most of the connections for himself.

Part three, "The Frontier of the Far West," is, to quote the author, "frankly episodic in nature." With the Middle Western frontier left behind, all is without form and void. True, "the little fellow on the cutting edge" is still with us; the trapper, the farmer bound for Oregon and free land, the placer miner, and the cattleman,

and all those other "happy ghosts" who, as Professor Paxson has promised us, "will endure forever, a happy heritage for the American mind," are presented. But what of the unhappy ghosts who were now prepared to exploit a continent? Land, mineral wealth, oil, timber, water power, transportation ways, the Indian, the army, and even the Middle Western farmer himself were their spoils and from them, at least in part, they fashioned those instruments of power which were to control the economic destinies of America. The story of this conquest is, the reviewer submits, the central theme of the history of the American frontier from the close of the Civil War down. This story is but dimly suggested. To the efforts to prevent this conquest, so significant in the influence of the frontier on American society, the book gives scant attention. Two pages are given to the agrarian movement and seven lines are allotted to conservation.

ERNEST S. OSGOOD

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

A Continent Lost—A Civilization Won: Indian Land Tenure in America. By J. P. KINNEY. (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. xv, 366 p. Illustrations. \$4.00.)

While concerned primarily with the physical resources, past and present, of the American Indian, this conscientious and well-documented historical study illuminates the whole field of interracial relations. It is of particular interest in view of recent changes in the government policy on individual allotments.

Said Indian Commissioner John D. Atkins in 1885: "They [*the Indians*] must abandon the tribal relation and take land in severalty . . . which means self-support, personal independence, and thrift. Every Indian may own a homestead. What a heritage!" He advised that allotments be held in trust by the government for twenty-five years, a policy legally established by the Dawes Act in 1887. Obviously, it was not anticipated that they should indefinitely remain "Indian country," but rather that the possessors should quickly learn to stand upon their own feet and take their chances with other citizens. Perhaps because the educational process lagged too far behind economic emancipation, these expectations have been realized only in

part. Great progress has been made, as the author maintains, in education, development of character, and civic responsibility, and persons of aboriginal descent may be found doing well in every walk of life. Yet the poverty of the masses upon the reservations is in many cases extreme, even where sufficient acreage remains for a moderate support.

As far back as 1855, the Chippewa of Minnesota were by treaty allowed not more than eighty acres each, which might not be alienated for a mere five years. In 1899, the Nelson Act provided for a commission to negotiate for the cession of all Chippewa lands except the White Earth and Red Lake reservations, and for as much of these as might not be needed for individual allotments. Those classified as "pine lands" were to be sold at public auction and the proceeds deposited to the credit of the tribe.

In 1901 and 1904, the Chippewa were authorized to sell timber from their allotments, and the White Earth mixed-bloods were relieved of all restrictions in 1906. Not until the year 1910, when Mr. Kinney entered the Indian service as forester, was it finally determined that valuable forests still remaining should not be sold to speculators, but conserved and used for the benefit of the Indians.

The lack of a consistent and logical policy throughout the years is clearly shown in these pages. Government paternalism has been excessive and still continues. Nevertheless, Mr. Kinney's title indicates his belief that in the long view the Indians have gained more than they have lost.

ELAINE GOODALE EASTMAN

NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Orient Meets Occident: The Advent of the Railways to the Pacific Northwest. By ENOCH A. BRYAN, president emeritus of the State College of Washington. (Pullman, Washington, The Students Book Corporation, 1936. vii, 269 p. Illustrations. \$2.50.)

Discovery and settlement of the Pacific Northwest came relatively late, but with the improvement of transportation and particularly with the coming of the railroads the region has blossomed mightily. Mr. Bryan presents briefly the background of early exploration, settlement, and communication, and then in more detail the construction of the transcontinental and local Northwest lines. He adds little to our existing knowledge, but gathers a fair amount of information into

small compass. The work seems to be aimed neither at the casual reader nor at the specialist, but at some intermediate group — possibly students.

While the book is obviously the result of an intelligent man's interest in one phase of the history of his own region, it has several unfortunate drawbacks. Almost half of the book is devoted to background material that has been treated much better elsewhere. Great dependence has been placed on such secondary accounts as Hafen, Smalley, Sabin, Trimble, Hedges, Gilbert, Pyle, and Kennan. The only original material, with minor exceptions, is drawn from government sources; gaps are filled with *Poor's Manual*. In many cases even the best secondary works appear not to have been used, since there is no reference to them either in the text or in the brief bibliography, which is in poor form. Examples of missing authorities are the standard works on Astor, on the Pacific surveys of the fifties, on federal land grants, and on the transcontinental railroad conventions — all of which subjects are treated at some length in the book. Periodical literature is almost untouched and railroad reports are unmentioned. The present reviewer feels particularly badly about the omission of his own history of the western railroads — the only one in existence.

The summaries of the construction of such roads as the Union Pacific and the Northern Pacific are but sketchy compilations of well-known facts. The most useful parts of the book are the histories of local lines in the Northwest, although a good map would make this material more serviceable. The entire book is uncritical of railroad practices, showing no interest in such matters as the financial complexities involved in the electrification of the "St. Paul." No attention is devoted to the influence of the rate structures of the various roads.

ROBERT E. RIEGEL

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
HANOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE

Minnesota Grows Up. By CLARA SEARLE PAINTER and ANNE BREZLER. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota Press, 1936. 144 p. Illustrations. \$1.75.)

There are too many graduates of our American schools who can be glib about distant times and places, but are not intelligent about their

immediate surroundings; who can manipulate the jargon of some special field of study, but are vague about the functions and processes of the institutions that condition their daily lives. The teacher, parent, or citizen who considers this situation a grave weakness in a democracy will welcome the news that the University of Minnesota Press is about to issue a second printing of *Minnesota Grows Up*. This primer of local history is admirably designed to awaken the child's interest in his home state, to stimulate his curiosity about its many activities, and to lay the basis for his understanding of its problems.

The scope of this little book is truly astonishing. It begins with the geologic processes that made the Minnesota country. It tells of the Indian occupation, the coming of the white men, the spread of settlement, the acquiring of statehood, the fur trade, the lumber industry, the opening of the iron mines, the vicissitudes of the farmers, and the rise of cities and modern industry. It ends with the growing concern for the conservation of human and physical resources that marks our adult community. Treating all these topics in 144 pages left the authors little space for specific personality or incident, and there enters the peculiar excellence of the book. The authors have concerned themselves chiefly with interpretation, with "Some Whys and Wherefores" of Minnesota's development. Yet they have managed to infuse this general material with a dramatic reality and narrative force that is usually attained only in more concrete episode. They have made intelligible and interesting to the grade-school child complex processes and difficult concepts that are sometimes strong meat for the mature mind to digest. These are accomplishments that need imitating.

The authors have used a variety of devices to achieve their ends. They have adopted a charmingly informal, story-telling style. They have personified Minnesota itself as the star of their story, so that the action of glaciers, seas, and rivers is "Changing Minnesota's Face"; the succession of sovereignties is Minnesota "Changing Flags"; the shift from specialized wheat farming to diversification is Minnesota stepping "From Bread Basket to Butter Keg." They have made the growth of population "A Lesson in Arithmetic" and have turned the usually dry-as-dust statistical charts into games with floors and walls and chimneys. And throughout they have used the familiar customs and activities of the present to make clear those of the past.

The book is skillfully designed as a "teaser." The narrative is sprinkled with direct questions, some of which are left unanswered for the young inquiring mind to work on. In addition, every chapter ends with several paragraphs, each marked with a little guidepost saying "Bypath." These contain a variety of suggestions for further reading and questioning. The lackadaisical teacher will not be at peace with this book in her pupils' hands, but the alert teacher will find it a challenge to lead her classes through the doors it opens.

Some things had to be left out, of course. But one omission is puzzling in view of its importance in the authors' theme. There is no mention of the agrarian crusade, of how the Minnesota farmers turned to the government for alleviation of their difficulties. This is especially to be regretted, since these writers would have made it clear even to children that Minnesota's political recalcitrance today is no new or accidental development.

No small share of the fun-having spirit of the book is due to its illustrations, the work of Miss Jane McCarthy. She has created a jolly little figure for Minnesota and has recorded the state's activities in a series of delightful sketches. The young reader can see Minnesota paddling its canoe along the rivers, marshaling its army of axes, and measuring its growth alongside the ruler's inches. The engaging spontaneity that marks both the drawings and the story style gives a fascinating form to the important content of *Minnesota Grows Up*.

HELEN B. CLAPESATTLE

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
MINNEAPOLIS

Gentlemen from England. By MAUD and DELOS LOVELACE. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1937. 361 p. \$2.50.)

The story of the Englishmen who went to Martin County, Minnesota, in the seventies and tried to transplant the social and cultural life of the English countryside to a small frontier community has been waiting for a novelist for many years. It was almost inevitable that Maud and Delos Lovelace, with their flair for discovering the picturesque in Minnesota history, would someday use this material.

While *Gentlemen from England* deals particularly with the love affairs of Richard Chalmers, one of the young Englishmen, it is really a story of the early years of the colony. A group of men, many of them retired army officers or younger sons of well-to-do gentlemen,

were enticed to Minnesota by an American speculator who told them of fortunes to be made in raising beans. The Englishmen came, built large homes, and, to the astonishment of their American neighbors, hired men to plant and farm their land while they shot game, hunted foxes and wolves, or held hurdle races. The first year grasshoppers took their crops and the local bank their mortgages. Several years of bad crops and the closing of a bank started by two of the colony completed their ruin. The loss of their land was a personal tragedy to many, but their coming had been a boon to Martin County, since they furnished employment and money in the depression years following 1873.

It is quite evident that Mr. and Mrs. Lovelace are familiar with all that has been written about the colony. They give an accurate portrayal of the activities of the Englishmen, and of their relations, not usually pleasant, with their American neighbors. When the authors try to superimpose a somewhat melodramatic plot on the historical background, their story weakens. The men of the colony were too easily carried over to the pages of a novel and the characters lose vitality and flexibility because the authors could not divorce them from the men whose stories they had read. To most Minnesota readers, the story will be more satisfactory because of its local background than because of its success as a piece of fiction.

NANCY S. LOEHR

ST. PAUL PUBLIC LIBRARY
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The society's search for items of Minnesota interest in files of eastern newspapers preserved in Boston libraries was used as a point of departure by Fred S. Heaberlin in the writing of an illustrated feature article entitled "School Marms Fair Targets for Cupid," which appears in the magazine section of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for May 9. To picture life in Minnesota in the fifties, he quotes from transcripts of articles to be found in the society's collections. He concludes that they "will be useful in compiling future histories of the state, and permit Minnesotans to see themselves as others saw them."

Letters written from Fort Ridgely in the early sixties by Captain John Jones and early pictures of the fort formerly in his possession, which were recently displayed by the society, are described by Emily Farnum in an interesting article in the *New Ulm Review* for May 13. The writer mentions the value of manuscripts and pictures for the reconstruction work that is now being conducted at Fort Ridgely by the National Park Service.

A total of 7,073 teachers and pupils — members of 230 organized groups — visited the museum of the society in the first six months of 1937. The largest museum attendance by classes in the past was recorded in 1935, when 7,050 members of such groups visited the Historical Building in twelve months.

Miss Livia Appel, a former member of the staff of the society, has been appointed managing editor of the newly organized University of Wisconsin Press at Madison.

One sustaining member, Mrs. Victor Robertson of St. Paul, and the following eighteen annual members joined the society during the quarter ending June 30, 1937: Dr. Stewart L. Arey of Excelsior; Leavitt R. Barker of Minneapolis; Ruth D. Beddie of Two Harbors; H. O. Chommie of Thief River Falls; J. G. Cohen of Minneapolis; Margaret Fletcher of Minneapolis; Carl J. Holcomb of Minne-

apolis; Laura A. Holmes of Minneapolis; Dr. Eugene M. Kasper of St. Paul; C. O. Lundquist of Minneapolis; Leroy Matson of Minneapolis; Mary M. Muckley of St. Paul; Herbert T. Park of Minneapolis; Charles E. Peterson of St. Louis, Missouri; Mrs. Flora M. Sheffield of Minneapolis; Martin E. Thornton of St. Paul; Rose M. Turner of Minneapolis; and Mrs. Eva E. Wold of Minneapolis.

The public schools of Kiester, Mahanomen, Minneota, Mountain Iron, and Wells have subscribed to the publications of the society.

The society lost seven active members by death during the past quarter: Arthur M. Wickwire of New York, April 10; Louis Betz of St. Paul, April 19; Louis Gluek of Minneapolis, April 29; Dr. Julian A. Du Bois of Sauk Center, May 4; Charles H. F. Smith of St. Paul, May 17; Mrs. Elbridge C. Cooke of Minneapolis, May 28; and Dennis F. Lyons of St. Paul, June 12.

A French translation of an article on Radisson and Groseilliers by Miss Nute has been published under the title "Quelques compagnons trifluviens de Radisson et de Desgroseilliers" in a recent special number of *Images de la Mauricie* of Three Rivers. The numerous errors of fact which appear in the translation are not present in the original article.

The superintendent presented an address on "Immigration and the Westward Movement in Ballad and Song" before members of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association meeting in St. Louis on April 30. He spoke on the same subject before the Institute for Scandinavian Studies at the University of Minnesota on April 18, he described "Some Material for Olmsted County History" at a meeting of the Rochester Business and Professional Women's Club on April 26, he participated in the dedication of a new wing of the library of Hamline University on May 12, taking as his subject "Calm Voices," he spoke on "Ole Rynning: Immigrant Leader" on May 15 at St. Olaf College, Northfield, and he presented a Cap and Gown Day address on "Pioneering, Old and New" at Concordia College, Moorhead, on May 22. The curator of manuscripts spoke on "Adventures in Research" before the Hamline Circle of St. Paul on April 19, and on "Pioneer Women" at the state teachers' college at River Falls, Wisconsin, on June 30. The curator of the museum

spoke on "Early Minnesota" at the Central Lutheran Church of Minneapolis on April 1, at the Central Presbyterian Church of St. Paul on April 9, at the South St. Paul Junior High School on April 23, and before English classes from Mechanic Arts High School in the society's auditorium on May 13 and 14; he described the "Fascination of Minnesota History" for students at Macalester College, St. Paul, on May 16; and he discussed "Highways and History" in connection with the dedication of a highway marker at Osseo on June 27. Dr. Blegen, Dr. Nute, and Mr. Babcock each read a paper also at a session of the state historical convention of 1937 (see *ante*, p. 272, 274, 277).

Five members of the society's staff—Mr. Blegen, Miss Nute, Mr. Babcock, Mr. Larsen, and Miss Heilbron—participated in a Statehood Day program broadcast from the Historical Building over station KSTP on May 11. They answered questions presented by an interviewer concerning Minnesota's admission to the Union on May 11, 1858, and relating to the society's collections. Miss Nute was interviewed also over station WCCO on April 29. Early Methodist missionaries in Minnesota were described by Miss Ackermann as part of a program broadcast over station WTCN on May 9.

In a letter to the editor, Mrs. Lydia S. Deere explains that her booklet, *The Story of the Old Spoon*, which is the subject of a note in the June issue of MINNESOTA HISTORY, deals with the frontier experiences of her parents, not her grandparents (see *ante*, p. 224). "The story was written for the family to emphasize the everyday experiences of the frontier life of our parents," she writes. "The two main characters were Mr. and Mrs. Anders Gustaf Sohlberg. The homestead is at the west edge of Freeborn Lake. It now is owned by Andrew Falquist, as far as I know."

ACCESSIONS

A large and important collection of the papers of Lynn Haines, a well-known journalist and publicist both in Minnesota and in Washington, D. C., where he served as secretary of the National Voters' League, is the gift of his widow, who resides in Washington. The papers contain a wealth of material assembled while Haines served as editor of the *Searchlight on Congress* from 1916 to 1927. Among

them are the minutes of the Democratic caucus of the House of Representatives from 1911 to 1913, material on the National War Labor Board, information about the careers of President Coolidge and Senator Robert M. LaFollette, and letters from many prominent individuals, including Louis D. Brandeis, Raymond B. Fosdick, Lynn Frazier, Kirby Page, Gifford Pinchot, Upton Sinclair, Alfred E. Smith, and William Allen White.

The personal character of Joseph N. Nicollet, the French explorer of the upper Mississippi Valley, is recommended by Thomas S. Williamson, missionary at Lac qui Parle, in one of the twenty-seven Nicollet items received recently from Mr. Forest H. Sweet of Battle Creek, Michigan. The collection includes personal letters written to Nicollet between 1832 and 1842 by Ferdinand R. Hassler, Sears C. Walker, Timothy A. Conrad, and other scientists, recommendations for the position of guide on Nicollet's expeditions, and a request from John Torrey for the use of his botanical collection. Lieutenant John C. Frémont, who was Nicollet's assistant on the expedition of 1838, is mentioned in one of the letters.

The detailed reminiscences of T. Granville Pearson, a Swedish immigrant of 1851 who settled first near Knoxville, Illinois, and at Vasa in 1855, are set forth in a narrative written in Swedish, which has been presented by his daughter, Mrs. Claudia G. Perkins of Chipewewa Falls, Wisconsin. It includes some interesting information about social and economic conditions among the Swedish settlers at Vasa.

The farming operations of Philemon M. Tuttle near High Forest from 1856 to 1881 are described in an incomplete series of his diaries received from Mrs. J. E. Brown of Stewartville. With the diaries are some miscellaneous papers—letters of 1856 from a bank at Winona, an order for a reaping and mowing machine dated 1864, and deeds for land in Olmsted County.

The Red River trails in the fifties are described by Daniel Hunt in a diary which has been copied for the society from the original in the possession of his daughters, the Misses Annie and Nellie Hunt of St. Paul. From 1857 to 1859 Hunt was engaged as a trader in western Minnesota, and he carried furs and supplies between St. Paul and Fort Garry. His diary was discussed by the Reverend Arthur

Gilmore of St. Paul in a paper presented at the Detroit Lakes session of the state historical convention of 1937 (see *ante*, p. 270).

Lumbering near Little Falls in the sixties, a flour mill at Eden Prairie, and banking methods of the fifties are among the subjects on which material is to be found in twelve boxes of papers of Isaac Crowe, presented by Mrs. M. E. Ecklund of Minneapolis. Crowe went to St. Anthony in 1857, engaged in the real-estate business, and served as an agent for a New York banker.

Photostatic copies of about fifty items of correspondence relating to the construction of roads in Minnesota Territory in the fifties have been made for the society from the originals in the archives of the bureau of topographical engineers, the office of Indian affairs, and the interior department at Washington. Included are letters written by Henry M. Rice and James H. Simpson.

An autobiographical sketch of Marcus Thrane, translated by his daughter, Mrs. Vasilia T. Struck, and her reminiscences of the Norwegian labor leader of the fifties are among the materials relating to his career that have been copied for the society through the courtesy of his grandchildren, Mr. Paul H. Struck and Mrs. Josephine T. Lewer of Minneapolis. Included are accounts of the organization of workmen's associations in Norway, of Thrane's emigration to America in 1863, of his activities as the publisher of the *Norwegian-American* at Chicago, and of a lecture tour to Minnesota and other western states.

Letters written to Luman G. Simons by his wife, after she had fled to St. Paul from Glencoe during the Sioux Outbreak of 1862, are among some thirty items of family papers that have been presented by their son, Mr. Orlando Simons of Glencoe. Included also are letters written from Glencoe by Mrs. Simons to her husband while he was serving in the Civil War.

The building and financing of the Northern Pacific Railroad are discussed in transcripts of seventeen letters from the Jay Cooke Papers made for the society from the originals in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society at Philadelphia. Among Cooke's correspondents are William L. Banning, Frank H. Clark, and James W. Taylor. Additional items of Minnesota interest among the

Cooke Papers in the period from 1868 to 1873 are noted on calendar cards compiled by Dr. Henrietta Larson of the School of Business Administration of Harvard University.

Eleven volumes of records of the First Baptist Church of Waseca, covering the period from 1868 to 1913, when it was discontinued, have been presented by Mrs. L. A. Bullard of Waseca. Included are minutes of meetings, treasurer's accounts, correspondence and letters of dismissal, statistical reports, and a secretary's book of the women's foreign missionary society of the church.

A record book of the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry Association from 1869 to 1912 has been presented by Miss Mabel Marvin of Winona, a former secretary of the association.

Seventeen "America letters" written by A. Jerpeland and telling of his experiences as a teacher in a Norwegian school in Fillmore County from 1871 to 1879 and as a farmer in North Dakota from 1879 to 1893 have been copied for the society from the originals in private hands in Norway by Mr. Arne Odd Johnsen of Oslo. He has copied also another group of letters and a diary written by Ole Nielsen, Sr., who settled at Estherville, Iowa, in 1866.

The activities of Moses E. Clapp as United States senator from Minnesota and as a leader of the Progressive party are described in some eighty items from his papers that have been copied on film slides for the society from originals in the possession of his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Harvey Clapp of Alexandria, Virginia. The collection, which covers the period from 1873 to 1916, includes newspaper clippings, programs, and letters from such prominent persons as Andrew Carnegie, Charles W. Fairbanks, Charles E. Hughes, Archbishop Ireland, Jeanette Rankin, Theodore Roosevelt, Elihu Root, William Howard Taft, and Woodrow Wilson.

A volume of minutes of meetings of the Pomona Grange, an organization of the Patrons of Husbandry in Hennepin and Anoka counties, has been photographed for the society through the courtesy of Mrs. Robert J. Kelly of Minneapolis. The record covers the period from 1881 to 1895. Reports of discussions on farming methods, educational problems, and economic subjects, of lectures by various individuals, including Dr. William W. Folwell, and resolutions

favoring the establishment of an agricultural college separate from the University of Minnesota are to be found in the minutes.

The diaries of Judge Charles B. Elliott of Minneapolis, covering the period from 1886 to 1901 and the year 1912, have been presented by his son, Major Charles W. Elliott. It will be recalled that a part of Judge Elliott's diary for 1888 was published in the June issue of this magazine under the title "The University of Minnesota's First Doctor of Philosophy." A brief sketch of his career by his son serves as an introduction (see *ante*, p. 121). Major Elliott has presented also a series of letters received from his father between 1912 and 1934, and a letter written by Henry H. Sibley to Colonel Charles E. Flandrau from Camp Release on September 8, 1862.

Minutes of meetings from 1923 to 1929 of the official board of Wesley Methodist Episcopal Chapel of St. Paul, treasurer's accounts, and attendance records of the Sunday school from 1887 to 1922 are among thirty-six volumes of records presented by the church. A history of the church, prepared for its fiftieth anniversary in 1936, is included.

The St. Paul Protestant Orphan Asylum has presented a volume of minutes of meetings of the board of managers for the period from 1915 to 1926, account books for the years 1910 to 1929, and copies of letters written by the corresponding secretary in 1888-89.

The secretary's records for the period from 1891 to 1929 of the Tourist Club of Minneapolis, a women's study club, have been presented by Mrs. Cyrus W. Wells of Minneapolis. The gift includes the constitution and bylaws of the club, printed programs, and the treasurer's account book.

Five volumes of daily reports kept at an engine house of the St. Paul Fire Department from 1891 to 1901 have been presented by the station, which is located at De Los and Robert streets. Names and schedules of firemen and reports on fire-fighting in the days when horse-drawn apparatus was used appear in the records.

Letters written by Major Carl L. Stone while he was serving with the Thirteenth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the Spanish-American War are among family papers presented by his aunt, Miss

Marion L. Sloan of Rochester, to supplement an earlier accession (see *ante*, 15:466). Included in the collection, which fills a filing box, are letters written by Major Stone's mother between 1899 and 1911, when she was living in the Philippines.

Annual reports of the Woman's Presbyterian Missionary Society of the St. Paul Presbytery and reports of local societies for the years from 1916 to 1934 have been added to the papers of the society, through the courtesy of Mrs. Edward L. McAdams of St. Paul (see *ante*, 3:41).

A copy of a master's thesis on "American Amusements in the 1830's," prepared by Mr. Frank H. Heck at the University of Minnesota in 1929, has been presented by the university's department of history.

A detailed history of the First Presbyterian Church of Two Harbors, compiled by Judge William E. Scott for its golden anniversary on March 6, 1937, has been presented by the trustees. The document contains quotations from the minutes of the session and other church records.

Pioneer life, early schools and industries, and events in the history of Anoka County, as recalled by local pioneers, are described in some twenty essays by Anoka County high-school students that have been copied for the society.

A recent addition to the society's collection of explorers' narratives is a two-volume set of the Baron Louis Lahontan's *Nouveaux voyages dans l'Amerique Septentrionale*, both published at The Hague, the first in 1709 and the second in 1703. In this work, Lahontan relates the story of an exploring expedition into what is now central Minnesota in 1688. Its authenticity has been the subject of considerable controversy, and many historians contend that the journey described was purely imaginary. Among the baron's champions is Professor Stephen Leacock, whose address on the subject, presented before the society in 1933, is published *ante*, 14: 367-377. The society previously had both volumes of the French edition of 1703, an English edition of 1703, and an Italian translation of the first volume, issued in 1831.

A photostatic copy of *A Description of Lewis' Mammoth Panorama of the Mississippi River* by Charles Gaylor (Cincinnati, 1849) has been made for the society from a pamphlet in the Library of Congress. The author was well known as an actor and as a newspaper editor in Cincinnati. A copy has been obtained also of a Dutch version of the text of the same panorama, published under the title *Reusachtige Panorama van den Mississippi naar schetsen door den Heer Lewis op zelve genomen* ('s Gravenhage, 1852), located in the New York Public Library. Unfortunately these booklets were not discovered before the publication of Henry Lewis' "Journal" in this magazine last year (see *ante*, 17: 141). The text that accompanied *Hudson's Great National Painting of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers* (New Haven, 1848) also has been copied by the photostatic process from an original in the New York Public Library. B.L.H.

A copy of *Behind the Scenes* by Elizabeth Keckley (New York, 1868) has been acquired for the library of the society. This now rare book depicts the life of a Negro woman who, born a slave, became Mrs. Lincoln's modiste. It has a Minnesota interest because some students of the Lincoln period attribute its authorship to Mrs. Jane Grey Swisshelm, fiery editor of the *St. Cloud Visiter*, who went to Washington in 1863 and in the next three years served as a war nurse and an employee in a government bureau. The latter position she sacrificed as a price for too frank criticism of President Johnson. When she went to Washington she was a bitter critic of Lincoln, but a personal meeting with the president dispelled her antagonism, although she apparently continued for some time to be resentful in her attitude. The story of the claim that Mrs. Swisshelm is the author of the Keckley book is reviewed *ante*, 17:107, 216. A.J.L.

Three issues of the *Independent Chronicle and Boston Patriot*, a rare Boston newspaper, have been acquired by the society through the kindness of Judge Kenneth Brill of St. Paul. The issues are dated April 4, 1808, and September 16 and 20, 1820.

About sixty-five pieces of telephone equipment assembled by Mr. George W. Johnson, a pioneer in the telephone business, were presented by the Tri-State Telephone Company with appropriate ceremonies on June 28. Among those who participated in the program,

which was presented in the auditorium of the Historical Building, were Mr. Roy F. Wilder, general manager of the Tri-State Telephone Company; Mrs. Arthur Cragg of St. Paul, through whose efforts the collection was obtained for the society; Father James Connelly; Mr. George W. Robinson, former president of the company; Mr. L. O. Painter, chief engineer of the company; Mr. Johnson; and Mr. Ira C. Oehler, vice president of the society, who accepted the gift on its behalf. Some of the items in the collection, which includes switchboards, mouthpieces, dials, transmitters, receivers, complete instruments, both manual and automatic, and the like, date back to the eighties, and others are modern in design. As other pieces of equipment become available, the telephone company is planning to add them to the collection, which is now on display in the society's museum. It offers a vivid picture of the progress of one method of communication in the Northwest in the past half century. The exhibit is described in detail by Mrs. Cragg in an illustrated article which appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for June 20.

A bronze tablet "to honor the Pilgrims of the Mayflower" was presented by the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of Minnesota on May 21. Colonel Carl R. Gray, Jr., governor of the Mayflower society, made the presentation, and the tablet was accepted by Mr. Edward C. Gale, president of the historical society.

A roster of the Twelfth Minnesota Volunteer Infantry, organized for service in the Spanish-American War in the spring of 1898, was presented by several surviving members of the regiment in a special ceremony at the Historical Building on May 27. Mr. Ira C. Oehler, vice president of the society, accepted the roster, which was inscribed by Captain Paul E. Henninger.

Many items of firemen's equipment, including a leather bucket, a pompier ladder, wrenches, a hat, a lantern, and metal badges, and a number of photographs have been presented by Chief William J. Sudeith, Mr. Charles Willis, Mr. W. E. Barron, and Captain Duncan Ferguson of the St. Paul Fire Department. Several policemen's badges and a whistle are the gifts of Mr. Joseph Mounts of the St. Paul Police Department. The Minneapolis Police Department has presented a blackjack used in 1917 by Chief Frank Brunskill.

Commander Louis H. Roddis of the United States navy has presented a full-dress uniform coat that he wore as a medical officer in the Mexican campaign of 1914 and in the World War. A sabre, a canteen, and a cord, used by Daniel H. Hunt of the Third Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the Civil War, have been received from the Hunt family through the courtesy of the Misses Annie and Nellie B. Hunt of St. Paul. A photograph of Captain John Jones, who participated in the Sioux War as a member of the Third Minnesota Battery (see *ante*, p. 209), and swords and military sashes that belonged to him are the gifts of Mr. John Henry Jones of St. Paul.

Among recent additions to the costume collection are dresses, lingerie, hats, shoes, parasols, combs, purses, and accessories received from Miss Mary H. Folwell and Miss Vera Cole of Minneapolis and Miss Annie I. Carpenter and Mrs. H. W. Kingston of St. Paul. Dr. J. C. Ferguson of St. Paul has presented a buffalo hide overcoat worn by his father in the seventies.

A footstove used about 1820 is the gift of Mrs. Etta V. Dyar of Hollywood, California. A silver water pitcher, goblets, and a caster, all dating from 1875, are the gifts of Miss Cleona L. Case of Minneapolis.

Oil portraits of Mr. and Mrs. George Thompson from Mrs. Charles E. Power of Center City, and of Charles, Eliza, and Nellie Brown, Elisia Cook, and Maria L. Pottgieser, from Mr. Charles W. Brown of St. Paul; crayon portraits of Mr. and Mrs. William Franklin from Miss Ada Hewitt of Belle Plaine; and photographs of Judge Thomas Canty from J. J. McHale of Minneapolis, of D. W. Ingersoll and Senator Knute Nelson from Mr. F. G. Ingersoll of St. Paul, and of a hundred and thirty World War veterans from Lanesboro, Renville, and Rochester are among recent additions to the society's portrait collection.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The first annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists was held in Washington on June 18 and 19. Papers and addresses on "The Significance and Use of Business Archives" by Herbert A. Kellar, on "The Scope and Functions of a State Archives Department" by Margaret C. Norton, on "Federal Archives Outside the District of Columbia" by Philip M. Hamer, and on "Archival Progress in the Historical Records Survey" by Luther H. Evans were included on the program.

A colorful pictorial map of the Northwest Territory has been issued by the Northwest Territory Celebration Commission in collaboration with the participating states (see *ante*, p. 101). On it are graphically illustrated the more important historic sites in the territory in 1787, the steps by which the United States came into possession of the area, Jefferson's "conception for the subdivision of the new West," and the way in which the territory was divided into the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and, in part, Minnesota. On the reverse are a copy of the Ordinance of 1787 and an account of the sesquicentennial celebration that opened in New York on July 13.

The publication of *American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1937. 791 p.), edited by Winifred Gregory under the auspices of the Bibliographical Society of America, marks the completion of a huge co-operative project carried on over a period of more than three years, and reaching into every state in the Union, as well as into the Canadian provinces. This volume has gathered in one place a list of all files of newspapers published in America during the period indicated and known to be preserved in various libraries, newspaper offices, courthouses, and municipal buildings, or owned by private individuals. It constitutes one of the most valuable reference tools that has yet been made available for historians and scholars in allied fields, as well as for members of the legal profession and all others who have occasion to use newspaper files. The Minnesota section of this comprehensive work occupies some twenty-two pages. In a work of as wide scope as this, and one upon which so many people have labored, it is

to be expected that errors will be found. When the great general value of the work is considered, however, they diminish into insignificance. The omission of the Minnesota Historical Society's file of the *Emigrant Aid Journal* of Nininger for the period from December 1, 1856, to May 5, 1858, is to be regretted, however, for it is the most nearly complete file of that valuable paper in existence. A.J.L.

Daniel Sutherland Davidson is the author of a monograph on *Snowshoes* which has been published by the American Philosophical Society as volume 6 of its *Memoirs* (Philadelphia, 1937. 207 p.). The author's chief interest is in the construction of the snowshoe and the distribution of the various types. Some information about the use of the snowshoe by the Minnesota Chippewa is included. Professor Davidson seems to have confined his study to the aboriginal tribes, however, as no mention of the use of this means of transportation by explorers, fur traders, and pioneers has been found in the volume.

The *Cooperative Purchasing of Farm Supplies* is discussed by Joseph G. Knapp and John H. Lister in a pamphlet published by the co-operative division of the Farm Credit Administration as number 1 of its *Bulletins* (1935. 92 p.) The contributions to the development of co-operative purchasing by farmers of such organizations as the Grange, the Farmers' Alliance, the Farmers' Union, the American Society of Equity, the Farm Bureau, and the National Co-operative Council are briefly described.

"The Birth and Growth of the Northwest Farmers Union" is the subject of an article by A. W. Ricker in the *Farmers Union Herald* of South St. Paul for May. He traces the story of the union back to 1915, when, as a member of the staff of *Pearson's Magazine* in New York, he prepared a pamphlet for distribution among members of farm organizations in the Northwest. The plan suggested there did not materialize, according to Mr. Ricker, until May, 1925, when "at Des Moines, Iowa, we organized the Corn Belt Federation of Farm Organizations." He notes also that in 1933 the Agricultural Council, which "includes about all the farm and farm marketing organizations of the present day," was formed at Washington. The author devotes a second chapter to his relations with the Non-partisan League.

Areas of Intense Drought Distress, 1930-1936 and the *People of the Drought States* are the titles of pamphlets published by the Works Progress Administration as numbers 1 and 2 of series 5 of its *Research Bulletins* (1937. 54, 81 p.). Rainfall statistics for seventy-seven Minnesota counties are presented in the first pamphlet; in the second is noted the increase or decrease in farms and farm population in the same counties during the drought years.

That "Minnesota has the largest Finnish rural-farm population" of any state in the Union is brought out by Horace H. Russell in an article on "Finnish Farmers in America," which appears in the April issue of *Agricultural History*. The Finns, according to Mr. Russell, began to settle in Minnesota in 1873, when a "Swedish agent sent two hundred and thirty Finns to the territory being settled by the Northern Pacific Railroad. Later in the same year, the London office of the railroad announced that the same agent had another group of two hundred and forty-two adults and a large number of children ready to embark for Minnesota." The writer points out that greater numbers of Finns settled in Minnesota after 1890, particularly in St. Louis County, which they found "somewhat similar to Finland, with countless lakes and rocky, swamp and peat lands." Communities at Finland, Cramer, Isabella, and Embarrass are described. Finnish co-operative enterprises in America are discussed, and special attention is given to the Cloquet Cooperative Society organized by Finnish mill workers in 1910.

The program of an Institute for Scandinavian Studies, conducted at the Center for Continuation Study at the University of Minnesota from April 18 to 21, included an address on "The Singing Emigrant" by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen of the Minnesota Historical Society, lectures on "The History and Present Status of the Vinland Problems," on "A New Interpretation of the John Cabot Expedition," and on "The Problem of Pre-Columbian Voyages to North America in the Fifteenth Century" by Professor Laurence M. Larson of the University of Illinois, a discussion of "Swedish Immigration to America" by Professor George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota, and a review of "Problems and Possibilities in the History of Scandinavians in America" by Professor Karen Larsen of St. Olaf College, Northfield. Professor Larson and Dr. Blegen participated also in a

program presented at St. Olaf College on May 21 to commemorate the centennial of the arrival in America of Ole Rynning.

On April 15 the historical records survey of Pennsylvania began the publication of the *Keystone Bulletin*, a four-page leaflet devoted to news items about its activities. Among the articles in the first issue is a statement, by Julian P. Boyd, of the services rendered by the survey to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The fact that in 1877 Bishop Henry B. Whipple bought land at Fort Maitland, Florida, where he "erected a winter home and occupied it through 1901," is noted in a little book entitled *Fort Maitland: Its Origin and History* (1936). A portrait of the Episcopal bishop of Minnesota accompanies the text.

Chapters on Sault Ste. Marie under French, British, and American rule are included in Professor E. Clever Bald's study of the *French Seigniorship at Sault Sainte Marie*, which has been reprinted in pamphlet form from the *Evening News* of the Sault for April 8 to 17 (32 p.). The estate with which he deals "extended 18 miles along the St. Mary's River, and 18 miles inland from the stream," writes Mr. Bald, and it "was granted by Louis XV in 1751 to two of his loyal subjects," Captain Louis de Bonne, sieur de Miselle, and Ensign Louis de Gardeur, sieur de Repentigny. It is interesting to note that Jean Baptiste Cadotte, a fur trader and explorer in the Minnesota country, "seems to have been the only tenant on the vast estate."

Two stout volumes of the *Debates and Proceedings of the Convention for the Revision of the Constitution of the State of Indiana, 1850* have been reprinted by the offset process for the Indiana Historical Bureau (Indianapolis, 1935. 2107 p.). A third volume, in which is reprinted the *Journal of the Convention of the People of the State of Indiana, to Amend the Constitution*, has now been added to the set (1936. 1085 p.). These books afford an interesting example of the use of offset printing in making available historical source materials.

The Iowa visits of the "Hutchinson Singers"—the well-known entertainers who in 1855 established the Minnesota town that bears their name—are described by Philip D. Jordan in the *Palimpsest* for May. In the June issue, Hubert H. Hoeltje tells of the Iowa experiences of Oscar Wilde, under the title "The Apostle of the Sun-

flower in the State of the Tall Corn." Wilde visited Iowa in March, 1882, on the same lecture tour that took him to Minnesota. Readers of MINNESOTA HISTORY will recall that his Twin City appearances were described by John T. Flanagan in the issue for March, 1936.

The Winnebago-Horicon Basin: A Type Study in Western History, by Joseph Schafer, has been published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin as volume 4 of the *General Studies of the Wisconsin Domesday Book* (Madison, 1937. 349 p.). It includes detailed studies of racial elements, settlement, land selection, industrial development, and the like in Calumet, Dodge, Fond du Lac, and Winnebago counties. In three chapters the author presents also "such data as may tend best to interpret the planting and the progress of the more important cities" in the area—Fond du Lac, Oshkosh, Neenah, and Menasha.

Life at Prairie du Chien, Cassville, and other western Wisconsin communities of a century ago is described in letters quoted in a recent biographical study of a pioneer Protestant Episcopal missionary, the *Reverend Richard Fish Cadle*, by Howard Greene (Waukesha, Wisconsin, 1936). A detailed description of Prairie du Chien is presented by Cadle in a letter of December 2, 1837, which is here reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society. One chapter of the narrative is devoted to Cadle's connection with Nashotah House, the Episcopal theological seminary of frontier Wisconsin. Among his associates there was James Lloyd Breck, later widely known for his Minnesota activities.

The fiftieth anniversary of the creation at Wausau, Wisconsin, on June 19, 1887, of the Minnesota district of the Evangelical Synod of North America is commemorated in an *Anniversary Book*, in which are included brief sketches of member Evangelical churches in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and North and South Dakota (40 p.). Among the many illustrations in the booklet are portraits of men who have served as president of the district and pictures of churches. A brief "Historical Synopsis" of the activities carried on in the district in the past half century also is included.

The biography of a native of Wisconsin who became a well-known educator is related in a volume entitled *Charles Henry Keyes*, which

was written by his daughter, Maud Keyes Decker (Minneapolis, 1937. 216 p.). The earlier chapters, which deal with Keyes's boyhood at Prairie du Chien, are of special interest to Minnesotans.

Thirty *Studies in South Dakota Education*, prepared for publication by R. W. Kraushaar and others, are included in volume 18 of the *South Dakota Historical Collections* (Sioux Falls, 1936). Among the subjects discussed from a historical standpoint are school legislation, the financial support of education, the development of independent school districts and of consolidated schools, school transportation, teacher certification, the education of the Sioux Indians, and the South Dakota Educational Association.

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

The career of *Floyd Björnsterne Olson, Minnesota's Greatest Liberal Governor* is outlined briefly in a newly published memorial volume by John S. McGrath and James J. Delmont (1937. 333 p.). The three campaigns for the governorship, in 1930, 1932, and 1933, are described, and a separate chapter is devoted to the events of each administration. There are also many tributes to the governor's character and services, including the eloquent address delivered at his funeral by the governor of Wisconsin. A notable feature of the book is the inclusion of a group of Governor Olson's addresses, messages to the state legislature, and proclamations. Here are to be found his three inaugural addresses; his program for the "co-operation of State and Federal Governments to reduce farm taxes, provide agricultural credit at lower interest rates, and the establishment of agricultural prices," outlined in 1931; his programs for compulsory unemployment insurance and for the state regulation and control of liquor; his sales tax veto message; an address presented at the Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago in 1934; a proclamation establishing martial law during the Minneapolis truck drivers' strike of 1934; and many other public utterances that reveal the policies and the interests of a great political leader. A number of well-chosen illustrations add to the interest and value of the volume.

Early Days and Ways in the Old Northwest (New York, 1937. 295 p.), compiled by Maude L. Lindquist and James W. Clark, is a collection of readings on the early history of Minnesota. Descrip-

tions of the Sioux and the Chippewa are presented in a chapter on "The Red Man and His Ways," extracts from the narratives of four explorers appear under the title "The Minnesota That Was," accounts of the fur trade era are included in a chapter entitled "Pelts and Portages," and the services of missionaries of various denominations are described in a fourth chapter. Pioneer life in the territorial period and in the early years of statehood, Minnesotans in the Sioux, Civil, and World wars, "The Miner and the Lumberjack," early industrial development, the frontier school, and "Society in the Good Old Days" are among the subjects represented in the chapters that follow. Both secondary and source materials are included in the volume. Approximately a third of its total number of pages are reprinted directly from publications of the Minnesota Historical Society. The names of the compilers appear on the title page as authors, but their authorship is confined to short explanatory paragraphs that precede each of the thirteen chapters and a few of the individual items. The work is essentially one of selection and arrangement.

"Grand Portage" in the last decade of the eighteenth century, when it was the site of a great trading depot of the Northwest Company, is the subject of an article by Grace Lee Nute, curator of manuscripts for the Minnesota Historical Society, in *Indians at Work* for April 15. She describes the brigades of canoes manned by gay voyageurs that landed at Grand Portage each summer, making it a scene of great activity. But she points out that "Grand Portage's glory was not for long," for "about 1800 it was learned that the post lay within the boundaries of the United States" and the British company erected a new post at Fort William. In the May issue of *Indians at Work*, Ralph D. Brown, director of the Minnesota historical records survey, tells of the "Archaeological Investigation" conducted on the site of the Grand Portage post in 1936. Workers engaged in a project conducted by the United States Indian service in co-operation with the Minnesota Historical Society were able to determine the location and outlines of the old stockade and to tell something about its construction.

Under the Minnesota division of state parks and the National Park Service, archaeological work begun at Fort Ridgely last fall, with the assistance of the Minnesota Historical Society, is being continued for the purpose of locating exactly each of the buildings that originally

comprised the fort. Whenever possible, remains are being preserved in their original places. The foundation of the barracks, a long, two-story structure, for example, has been kept just as it was found. Work on the restoration of the commissary, a one-story stone building, also is progressing. When completed, the exterior will resemble the original structure as closely as possible. A portion of the building that still is standing furnishes a working model for the masonry, and many historical documents have been consulted in the preparation of plans for the restoration. Granite is being obtained from the same quarry as that from which stone for the original building came, and additional stone and timbers once used at the fort and later in a neighboring church have been donated for the restoration. According to present plans, the rebuilt structure will be used as an assembly hall and historical museum, where material illustrative of life at the fort and of the period of the defense of the frontier may be exhibited. Many of the objects unearthed in the course of the excavations will be displayed there. It is hoped that the Fort Ridgely site will attract many visitors during the course of the present work, as well as later.

G. HUBERT SMITH

The seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of Gustavus Adolphus College was celebrated by members of the faculty, the student body, and the alumni at St. Peter on June 5 and 6. Among former graduates who participated in the program were Colonel John A. Lundeen, Dr. Alfred Bergin, Mr. Henry N. Benson, and Dr. Peter Peterson. The anniversary was marked also by the publication of a special edition of the *St. Peter Herald* on May 28. From 1862, when St. Ansgars' Academy was established at Red Wing by Eric Norelius, the story of the present college is traced by Neal Nelson. Music, athletics, debating, and other special activities are the subjects of articles. The training of Swedish Lutheran pastors at Gustavus Adolphus is discussed by the Reverend V. H. Hegstrom.

The fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Moorhead State Teachers College, which was marked by the school with an appropriate celebration on June 4 and 5, was the occasion for the publication of a number of articles about its history in the *Moorhead Daily News* for June 3. The careers of presidents of the college, from Livingston C. Lord to Ray B. MacLean, are outlined; changes in the curriculum are noted; the "evolution" of the campus is described; the

story of the "Old Main" building of the college, which burned in 1930, is related; the growth of sports is reviewed; and musical organizations that flourish on the campus are described. The anniversary is commemorated also in an article by Byron D. Murray which appears in the *Minnesota Journal of Education* for May.

The contributions of Minnesotans to American literature are surveyed by James Gray in an article entitled "The Minnesota Muse," which appears in the *Saturday Review of Literature* for June 12. Among the literary figures discussed are Charles Flandrau, the "complete cosmopolitan," Sinclair Lewis, "first American winner of the Nobel Prize," Scott Fitzgerald, "chronicler of the flapper's bright audacity," Grace Flandrau, "tireless explorer in space and in time," Glanville Smith, the "only man on the American horizon who seems capable of breathing life into the informal essay," and "three men, now dead, whose work has had a large influence on contemporary writers"—Arthur Upson, Oscar Firkins, and O. E. Rølvaag. The latter's largeness of spirit, writes Mr. Gray, "as revealed in 'Giants in the Earth,' is an enduring monument to the Scandinavian-American tradition which he celebrated." Minnesota writers, according to Mr. Gray, "are concerned no more than is normal and inevitable with Minnesota history," and they have tended to "ignore the dramas of purely local interest." He points out that "there are many vivid stories that remain untold: the fabulous rise of the cities of the Iron Range; the decay of the logging towns; the slightly incredible development of a huge medical clinic in a community so self-consciously languid that a nearby place actually calls itself Sleepy Valley." Mr. Gray concludes that "Obviously too much can be sacrificed to the cosmopolitan attitude," and that a "thriving literature must have roots in its own soil."

Mr. John K. Sherman is the author of a detailed history of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, which appears in installments in the *Minneapolis Star* from April 26 to 30. He mentions earlier Twin City musical organizations that helped to pave the way for the orchestra's first concert on November 5, 1903, under the baton of Emil Oberhoffer. The finances of the orchestra during thirty-four years, its tours, its conductors, and its management, rather than its contributions to the musical development of the Northwest, are empha-

sized by the writer. Among the many interesting illustrations that accompany the narrative is a facsimile of the cover of the first program given by the orchestra.

An interview with Father Simon Lampe, who has worked among the Red Lake Indians as a missionary for nearly half a century, is reported in the *Bemidji Daily Pioneer* for June 11. He traces the story of Catholic missionary activity at Red Lake back to 1858, when Father Pierz began to work among the Chippewa of the region. Among the missionaries whose work is mentioned are Fathers Joseph Buh, Ignatius Tomazin, Aloysius Hermanutz, and Thomas Borgerding. Some information about the missions at White Earth also is included.

A pamphlet about *Baptist Activities: A Description of the Work of the Organized Baptists of Minneapolis and St. Paul* has been prepared by Ernest A. Finstrom and published by the Twin City Baptist Union (1937. 23 p.). It includes lists of Baptist churches in St. Paul and Minneapolis with the dates of organization and the charter and present membership, accounts of church societies in the Twin Cities, and brief sketches of individual churches.

Bishop Frank A. McElwain of Minnesota is the author of the first of the three parts of an article entitled "Seabury-Western Theological Seminary: A History," which appears in the *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* for December, 1936. He reviews the story of the Seabury Divinity School, which was established at Faribault as the Bishop Seabury Mission in 1858. In the sections that follow, the history of the Western Theological Seminary of Chicago is outlined by Percy V. Norwood, and Frederick C. Grant describes the union of the two earlier schools at Evanston as the Seabury-Western Theological Seminary in 1933.

An index (12 p.) to George C. Tanner's *Fifty Years of Church Work in the Diocese of Minnesota, 1857-1907* (St. Paul, 1909) has been compiled and published by Dr. Francis L. Palmer of St. Paul, from whom copies may be obtained for twenty-five cents.

"From Fur Traps to Iron Mines," the story of the triangular area of northeastern Minnesota in which the state's three iron ranges are located, is traced in the June issue of the *US Steel News*. The num-

ber is devoted chiefly to the activities of the Oliver Iron Mining Company on the Mesabi Range. In other articles in the issue an account of "The Soudan Mine—Oldest in Minnesota" is presented, "Hibbing, the Mining Town That Was Moved" is described, and the "Story of Open-pit Mining at Hibbing" is outlined.

Life in the winter lumber camps of northern Minnesota in the early eighties is described by E. H. Pelton in the *St. Cloud Daily Times and Journal-Press* for May 3. He recalls that "20 men slept in one bed" before a big fire built below a hole in the roof through which the smoke escaped. In the same paper for May 10, Mr. Pelton describes the logging operations of N. P. Clark and Thomas McClure in the upper Mississippi and Red River regions. He mentions, for example, a contract for the cutting of ten million feet of timber that was filled by one lumberman near Leech Lake in 1885.

A botanical study of the "*Big Woods*" of Minnesota: *Its Structure, and Relation to Climate, Fire and Soils*, by Rexford F. Daubenmire, has been published by the University of Minnesota as volume 6, number 2, of its *Ecological Monographs* (April, 1936). This account, which deals chiefly with the forests of one section of the Minnesota Valley, was prepared as a doctoral dissertation in 1935.

When Minnesota enacted a minimum wage law for women and minors in 1913, only one other state in the Union—Massachusetts—had such a law, according to Florence Burton, who reviews the "History of Minnesota's Minimum Wage Law" in the *Minnesota Leader* for May 15. She outlines the provisions of the measure, tells the history of its enforcement, and describes its present status.

Some "Early Minnesota Labor History" is presented in a series of articles which have been appearing in the weekly issues of the *Minnesota Union Advocate* since April 22. The beginning of labor organization in Minnesota is traced back to 1858, when the local typographical trades organized "as loosely federated independent unions. Next in rank were the cigarmakers, bricklayers, and the pipe trades." Information is included about the organization in 1890 of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor and its early meetings and activities, the organization of the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly in 1882, early Labor Day celebrations, and the like.

The first radio program broadcast by a Twin City newspaper is recalled in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for April 18, which deals with the establishment of station WBAD at Minneapolis in 1922. How audiences gathered in theaters at Litchfield, Arlington, and other Minnesota communities to hear the concert with which the *Journal* opened the new station on April 20, 1922, is related.

A pageant based upon Indian legends was presented at Itasca State Park on July 4 and 18 and on August 1 and 15, and at Camden State Park on July 10 and 11. It was produced under the auspices of the Northwestern Historical Association and the Minnesota Tourist Bureau.

A number of articles of local historical interest are included in an annual publication entitled the *Long Bow Country of Minnesota*, which is designed to advertise the attractions for tourists in a section of northern Minnesota. Among them are an account of "Our Last Indian War," the Leech Lake uprising of 1898, by Major Elbridge Colby; and a review of the "Story of Old Fort Ripley" by Judge L. B. Kinder. Mr. F. T. Gustavson of Cass Lake contributes a description of "Mounds and Relics in the Long Bow Country," Mrs. Sarah T. Heald tells of "Chippewa Indian Handicraft" produced in the region, and Ernest E. Nyvall reveals that the "Industrious Beaver" is still to be found in northern Minnesota. A brief account of the museum of the Crow Wing County Historical Society at Brainerd also is included.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

A paper by Hiram C. Wellham on the Washburn Sawmill, which was operated at Anoka in the seventies, was read by Milo Pomeroy at a meeting of the Anoka County Historical Society on April 5. The paper is published in the *Anoka Herald* for April 28. The history of St. Francis was emphasized in a program presented at a meeting of the society held in that community on May 2. The story of the township was outlined by Mrs. B. Schaub, and the history of the local consolidated school was reviewed by the Reverend W. A. Rice.

Reports on the collecting activities of the Becker County Historical Society were presented at a meeting of the organization held at Detroit Lakes on April 13. The growth and arrangement of the picture

collection were described by Mrs. Harriet Weeks, and Mr. Arthur Foster told of other materials preserved by the society.

Since its organization in 1916 the Blue Earth County Historical Society "has achieved a collection of early newspaper files, records and objects in use during pioneer days, which is equalled by few county collections in this state," according to the writer of an article in the *Mankato Free Press* for April 5. Much of the credit for assembling and arranging the museum displays that are open to the public each afternoon in the Mankato Public Library is given to Mr. C. A. Nachbar.

The museum collection of the Chippewa County Historical Society, including about five hundred items, was formally opened to the public on May 14, 15, and 16, after being arranged for display in the Windom Building at Montevideo. Among the objects exhibited are pictures, farm implements, maps, kitchen utensils, china and glassware, books, manuscripts, and many other articles illustrative of early living conditions in the county.

The need for a Chisago County historical society is stressed by the writer of an editorial in the *Chisago County Press* of Lindstrom for June 3. Such an organization, according to the editorial, is "sadly needed." It calls attention to the fact that there is a "wealth of historical material in this section of the state to make such a move worthwhile and to supply plenty of interesting fuel" for a local society.

Miss Ella Hawkinson was re-elected president of the Clay County Historical Society at a meeting held at Moorhead on May 15. Mr. Carl A. Johnson was named vice president, Mrs. Edna Rice, secretary, and Mr. S. G. Bridges, treasurer. Mr. James Dahl of Glyndon spoke on the history of the Red River Valley, and President R. B. MacLean of the Moorhead State Teachers College discussed local museum projects.

More than six hundred objects of local historical interest assembled over a period of two years by the Business and Professional Women's Club of Rochester were presented to the Olmsted County Historical Society at a dinner held at Rochester on April 26. The collection will form the nucleus for a museum display that will be

arranged by the society in the new library building at Rochester. The principal address was presented by Dr. Theodore C. Blegen, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, who took as his subject "Some Materials for Olmsted County History." Other speakers included Mr. Burt W. Eaton, president of the Olmsted County Historical Society, who accepted the collection on behalf of the society, and Mr. H. C. Theopold, director of the local WPA museum project. Some of the articles presented to the historical society were displayed at the dinner.

About four hundred people attended the summer meeting of the Otter Tail County Historical Society, which was held at the county fair grounds on June 27. Among the speakers were the Reverend T. Tjornhom, who gave a reminiscent talk on pioneer experiences in Fergus Falls, and F. J. A. Larson, who described pioneer life in Amor Township. Mr. Larson's paper appears in full in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for June 28. A column of "Historical Society Notes" signed by the secretary, E. T. Barnard, appears from time to time in the *Journal*. In the issue for May 27, for example, he tells of recent accessions, of visitors to the local museum, and of plans for the summer meeting.

In honor of Professor C. A. Duniway, who retired after serving for thirteen years as president of the Rice County Historical Society, the organization held a dinner meeting at Northfield on May 11. A resolution expressing the society's appreciation of Dr. Duniway's untiring efforts on its behalf was introduced by the Reverend F. F. Kramer of Faribault and was unanimously adopted. Professor Agnes M. Larson of St. Olaf College reviewed the early history of Northfield, and Mrs. Joe Gannon of Northfield spoke on "The Development of Musical Organizations" in the same community. The latter address appears in full in the *Northfield Independent* for May 13.

A scrapbook containing newspaper clippings of the proceedings of the city council of Faribault from April 9, 1872, to June 25, 1877, is a recent addition to the collection of the Rice County Historical Society. The book, which is believed to have been compiled by H. P. Sime, was found in an old barn in Faribault.

The Roseau County Historical Society's extensive museum collection has been attractively arranged in quarters in the new municipal

building at Roseau by the curator, Mr. P. O. Fryklund. The museum was opened to the public on June 19 in connection with the celebration commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of white settlement in the county (see *ante*, p. 274).

Rooms in the new municipal building at St. Cloud have been placed at the disposal of the Stearns County Historical Society for the display of its museum collection. The exhibits have been arranged under the direction of Mrs. H. L. Kaufman and Miss Marjorie Carter, according to an announcement in the *St. Cloud Daily Times* for April 9. An appeal for objects illustrative of pioneer life in Stearns County for the museum collection appears in the same paper.

The museum of the Swift County Historical Society has been rearranged in a room specially prepared for its use by workers employed in a WPA project in the courthouse at Benson. The museum was officially opened to the public on March 30.

The story of the railroads of Washington County was reviewed by E. J. McCollum at a meeting of the Washington County Historical Society held at Stillwater on May 17. His paper is outlined in the *Stillwater Gazette* for May 20.

Mr. W. A. Stickley was elected to the presidency of the White Bear Historical Society at its annual meeting, which was held at White Bear Lake on May 24. Other officers named at the same meeting are Mrs. Nellie Fulton, vice president, F. D. Mehlhorn, secretary, and William Luedke, treasurer.

An appeal for objects, manuscripts, and other items of significance for a study of county history was published in the *Gazette-Telegram* of Breckenridge for April 22 for the Wilkin County Historical Society. An account of the work accomplished by the society in cooperation with the local WPA appears in the issue of the same paper for June 17.

The Yellow Medicine County Historical Society, which was organized at Clarkfield on May 8, is the latest addition to the list of local historical organizations in Minnesota. At the organization meeting the following officers were elected: Thomas Reinertson of Canby, president; Herbert Wilson of Hazel Run, vice president; Jay

L. Putnam of Granite Falls, secretary; and Fred Gillingham of Granite Falls, treasurer. The new society held its first regular meeting at Clarkfield on June 7.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

Eight of the ten sections included in the fiftieth anniversary edition of the *Mankato Free Press*, issued on April 5, are crammed with articles and pictures relating to the history of Mankato and Blue Earth County. The event commemorated is the paper's first appearance as a daily on April 4, 1887. Much of the material in the first two sections relates to the history of the *Free Press*, which was established under its present name by General James H. Baker in 1880—the “product of a merger of the Mankato Union and the Mankato Record.” The origins of these earlier papers are traced back to the fifties. Sketches of editors and publishers of the past and present and an account of the building occupied by the *Free Press* also are presented. Scores of articles about special phases of local historical development appear in the sections that follow. Beginning with the selection of the site by Parsons K. Johnson in 1852, the early history of Mankato is presented in narrative form; it is the subject also of a chronological outline giving events in the city's history from 1850 to 1870. Transportation and communication in the Mankato area are described in articles on early roads and trails, steamboating on the Minnesota River, the development of railroads after 1868, when the Minnesota Valley road reached the city, and the organization of the local telephone company. Detailed accounts of early churches and schools are included, the beginning of the city's park system is described, and the exploits of the local military units of the fifties and sixties are set forth. Amusements enjoyed by the pioneers of the fifties and the social life of the eighties as it is reflected in a column of “Home Jottings” in the *Free Press* are the subjects of articles. The history of the Blue Earth County Fair is traced back to 1859, when a county argicultural society was organized at Garden City. Scores of illustrations, some of which are of unusual interest and value, appear in the issue.

Judge Hiram S. Goff of Mankato recalls events connected with his boyhood at Mapleton half a century ago in a reminiscent narrative the first installment of which appears in the *Blue Earth County*

Enterprise of Mapleton for April 23. The same paper publishes a review of the history of Beauford Township by Sumner J. Getty, beginning with the issue of June 11.

Recollections of life in Carlton County in the eighties are presented by James Dunphy in a series of articles, the first of which appears in the *Carlton County Vidette* for June 10. Lumbering activities, farming methods, and early transportation in the region are among the subjects touched upon. A reminiscent account of pioneer life in the same county is contributed to the *Barnum Herald* for June 24 by John Manni, who includes some interesting and unusual comments about medical and veterinary practices among the Finnish pioneers.

The people of New Germany commemorated the golden jubilee of this Carver County village on June 26 and 27. Many interesting items about the history of the village, which was established after a branch of the Great Northern Railroad was completed between Excelsior and Hutchinson, appear in the special edition of the *New Germany Messenger* issued on June 19. The founding of the town and the beginning of business activity there, the coming of the railroad, the establishment of a post office in 1900, the organization of a fire department, and the platting of the village are among the subjects of articles. A chronology of events for each year from 1890 to 1936 also is included.

Of unusual interest and value is a reminiscent narrative by Theodore F. Koch which appears in the "Old Settler's Issue" of the *Clara City Herald*, published on June 25 to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the community. He relates that "about the middle of September, 1884, Martin W. Prins of the firm of Prins and Zwanenburg of Amsterdam, Holland, and I, a partner of the firm of Koch & Company of Gronengin, Holland, arrived in Olivia, Minnesota, as guests of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad Company." They came to buy land, and as a result of this visit they purchased "34,000 acres of virgin prairie. In the next few years, the firm of Prins & Koch made additional purchases bringing the total of land owned and controlled to over one hundred thousand acres in Renville, Kandiyohi, and Chippewa counties, Minnesota. This land was sold to actual settlers on long time and easy terms at from seven to ten dollars an acre." From an office in Chicago, the Dutch promoters

encouraged settlers to buy their lands. Mr. Koch tells how, on some of the Chippewa County lands, Clara City, which was named for his wife, was platted in 1887. Among other reminiscent accounts in the issue are those by Mrs. Koch and by A. J. Prins, who left Holland in 1890 to take charge of the Prins and Koch elevator at Clara City. A general account of the early settlement of the district also appears in the *Herald*.

A history of the "Lac qui Parle Indian Mission" by John J. Oyen appears in installments in the *Watson Voice* from April 22 to July 1. In the earlier articles, the author tells something of the fur trade in the upper Minnesota Valley and describes the activities of Joseph Renville. By using early township plats, Mr. Oyen is able to trace the course of roads and trails used by fur traders and missionaries in the Lac qui Parle country, and he has drawn from county archives and interviews with pioneers many other interesting bits of information about the early history of western Chippewa County. In his concluding installments he describes the centennial programs held on the mission site in the summer of 1935 (see *ante*, 16:302).

The growth and development of a south Minneapolis settlement house is traced in a recently published booklet entitled *A History of Pillsbury House* (16 p.). The story of the settlement is traced back to 1879, when the Plymouth Congregational Church opened a "News-boys' Sunday School . . . in an old building on Second Street and Third Avenue South." In the following year a kindergarten was opened in the same building. A settlement house with a resident worker was organized in 1897 and in 1905 this became known as Pillsbury House.

The first installment of a history of Hubbard County by J. H. Nixon appears in the *Hubbard County Herald-Tribune* of Akeley for June 24. The writer settled in the region in 1896 and much of his narrative is based upon personal reminiscences.

Grand Rapids as it appeared in 1891 when W. J. Green arrived there is described in detail in the first installment of his "Reminiscences," which appears in the *Itasca County Independent* of Grand Rapids for May 7. At that time, according to Mr. Green, who now lives in Toronto, the two hundred inhabitants of the village and the

lumberjacks who went there to spend their earnings had at their disposal about twenty saloons.

A Minnesota community that is only twenty years old, Suomi in Itasca County, was the scene of an anniversary celebration on June 20. In connection with the commemoration, pupils in the local school were asked to write histories of the settlement. That prepared by Ruth Salo, a twelve-year-old pupil in the eighth grade, was judged the best of those submitted. It is published in the *Grand Rapids Herald-Review* for June 16.

The first of a series of articles entitled "When Kenabec County Was Young" is contributed by S. B. Molander to the *Kanabec County Progressive* of Mora for April 15. The establishment of the county in 1858, the beginning of settlement, county organization, early communities, early agriculture, steamboating on the St. Croix, and many other subjects are touched upon. Included also are historical sketches of individual communities, such as Brunswick, Groundhouse City, and Mora.

An *Early History of Lincoln County* compiled by A. E. Tasker consists for the most part of materials reprinted from other county histories and from newspapers (Lake Benton, 1936. 352 p.). Special sections are devoted to narratives of pioneers, to the churches, schools, and villages of the county, to newspapers, and to biographical sketches of early settlers. Histories of only two townships—Hansonville and Hendricks—are included; brief statements about the others are grouped in a section headed "Organization of Townships." A useful "Roster of County Officials" is included, and an account of "County Extension Work and the 4H Club" is contributed by the assistant county agent, Lawrence Biever.

The organization of the Elm Creek Cemetery Association in Martin County on June 24, 1872, is described in the *Sherburn Advance-Standard* for June 17. Papers relating to this early association were found in the possession of one of its officers, Mr. M. Clementson, and in the office of the register of deeds at Fairmont.

Mrs. S. C. Pew has drawn upon the records of the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Fairmont for a history of the organization,

which appears in four installments in the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* from May 17 to 24. The writer tells of the founding of the organization in Fairmont in 1879, of the meeting of the national union there in 1915, and of various local activities.

The changes in the methods of planting and harvesting corn that have been observed by Mr. Timothy Rowley in his long career as a Martin County farmer were described by him at a meeting of the Fairmont Kiwanis Club in May. Mr. Rowley has resided in East Chain Township since 1859, according to the *Fairmont Daily Sentinel* for May 19, which includes an interesting survey of his talk.

The days when "farmers had to wait in line for many hours before unloading at the various hay barns" of Worthington are recalled in the *Worthington Globe* for May 13. In the early nineties the town was known as a shipping point for hay, according to this account. "In 1891 there was shipped from Worthington nearly 2,000 carloads, in 1892, 2,400 cars, and in 1893, 3,000 cars."

"A Red River Valley Water Mill" built in 1889 on the Wild Rice River near Perley and still in operation is described by Alma E. Riggle in the *Northwestern Miller* for June 9. A picture of the mill, which is said to be the "only flour mill in the Red River Valley turned by water power," accompanies the article.

That the first regular mail service in Stewartville made use of a carrier who also "brought flour, sugar, and groceries and did shopping for the early settlers" at Preston is revealed by C. A. Duncanson in a history of the local post office, which appears in the *Stewartville Star* for May 13. From the appointment of the first postmaster in 1856 to the present, the history of the Stewartville post office is briefly traced by the writer.

The fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of East Grand Forks as a city is commemorated in a special edition of the *Weekly Record*, a local newspaper, for June 11. The story of the first white settler, William C. Nash, who erected a log cabin at the mouth of the Red Lake River in 1869 and who became a leader in the community that grew up around him, is told in some detail. A picture of his cabin accompanies the article. Another article of historical interest in the *Record* deals with fords, ferries, pontoons, and bridges, by which the

crossing of the streams that form the Grand Forks has been accomplished.

School buildings erected at Glenwood from 1869 to the present are described in the *Glenwood Herald* for May 27. Information about the sites, size, method of construction, cost, and the like is included.

The history of Morristown in Rice County was reviewed in a pageant presented in connection with an old settlers' celebration on May 29 and 30. The history of the village, which dates back to 1855, and the story of the pageant are outlined in the *Faribault Daily News* for June 1.

Some experiences of Fred Faribault and members of his family, all pioneer residents of the city of Faribault, are recounted by Bruce Smith in a narrative which appears in the *Faribault Daily News* for June 17. The author, a local high-school student, received first place for this essay in a contest sponsored by the Charter Oak chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The first installment of an article dealing with the early history of Redwood Falls, by Minnie M. Lee Knudson, appears in the *Redwood Gazette* for May 27. She tells of the experiences of the settlers in the Sioux War, of the building of a stockade on the site by Colonel Samuel McPhail, of his promotion of the settlement, of early schools, business establishments, and the like. Her paper was prepared for presentation before a local women's club.

Business and social activities at Dundas in the eighties are recalled by Ivan Ringstad, who went there to live with his parents in 1883, in the *Northfield Independent* for April 29. "Everything in Dundas centered around the Archibalds and the Archibald mill," he writes. At the mill, "Mr. E. T.' inspected the wheat, tested the flour, 'Mr. Cyril' looked after the finances, my father saw that the accounts were kept balanced, and carload after carload rolled away for all points East and abroad." On more than one occasion, according to Mr. Ringstad, E. T. Archibald "drove up to our home and asked my mother to drop everything and bake him a batch of bread, in order to confirm his tests."

"The Iron and Steel Industry of Duluth: A Study in Locational Maladjustment" is the title of an article by Langdon White and George Primmer which appears in the *Geographical Review* for January. The authors relate that "Duluth's first iron foundry was established in 1870 for the manufacture of railway cars," and that in the decade that followed several blast furnaces were built. Despite many factors that should point toward success, the great plant built at Duluth in 1915 by the United States Steel Corporation is today a "negligible producer and a keen disappointment." "Duluth's iron and steel industry has not grown and prospered" because the district is too remote from the great markets, according to the authors.

Under the title "Louisville, Minn., Once Flourishing Town, Now Just Grazing Land and Oats Field," Adolf C. Regli tells the story of a ghost town of the Minnesota Valley in the *Minneapolis Journal* for June 6. He deals chiefly with the activities at Louisville of H. H. Spencer, who promoted the townsite in the early fifties. Pictures of the Spencer house, which is still standing on its original site, accompany the article.

With an account of the season of 1908, Leo H. Ruehle opens a series of articles on "Baseball in St. Cloud in Former Years" in the *St. Cloud Daily Times and Journal-Press* for April 6.

The discovery that "Old Ordinances Record Many Interesting Bits of History" was made by the writer of an article which appears in the *Owatonna Journal-Chronicle* for April 8. From an early ordinance book among the city archives of Owatonna he learned, for example, that "driving on Bridge or Bridge streets faster than a walk" was prohibited as early as 1869, that domestic animals were not allowed to run at large in the city after 1886, and that quarantine regulations for contagious diseases were put in force in 1889.

The sixtieth anniversary of the founding of Clarissa and the fortieth anniversary of its incorporation as a village were the occasions for a community celebration there on June 19 and 20. Among the speakers were Mr. O. B. DeLaurier, who reviewed the history of the community; Mr. A. H. Hendrickson, who recalled some events connected with the founding of the village; and Mrs. F. B. Nutting, a pioneer who traveled from Faribault to Todd County in a covered

wagon in 1882. Brief interviews with pioneers conducted by Mr. George A. Etzell were a feature of the first day's program.

The village of Minneiska is the subject of a historical narrative by John Husser which appears in installments in the *Wabasha County Herald-Standard* of Wabasha from May 13 to June 3. According to the author the first settlers, who arrived in 1851, selected the site because they considered it a good place from which to sell cordwood to passing steamboats.

The fortieth anniversary of the beginning of public telephone service at Lake City is the occasion for the publication of a history of the local telephone company in the *Lake City Graphic* for May 13. The company was organized by G. M. Dwelle in the spring of 1897 and the thirty original subscribers were first given service on May 15 of that year.

A receipt signed by L. S. Judd and dated at "Marine Town March 30th 1837" is offered as evidence that the present year marks the centennial of the village on the St. Croix in a feature article by Jack Keefe which appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for May 9. The document was found by Mrs. Laura Pengilly in the attic of her home, which was formerly owned by Orange Walker, a local lumber magnate. Mr. Keefe outlines briefly the story of the founding and development of the lumber town of Marine, and reveals that its centennial celebration actually is planned for June, 1938.

Plans for the construction of a model lumber camp which will serve as a museum for the preservation and exhibition of objects connected with the history of the lumber industry are being formulated at Stillwater. Mr. Reuben Granquist has been named chairman of a committee to raise funds for the project.

A pictorial history of the logging industry in the St. Croix Valley is to be found in a collection of 435 photographs which has been presented to the Stillwater Public Library by Mr. John Runk.

Many interesting bits of information about the extent of the jewelry business established at Winona in 1862 by Stephen W. Morgan and about the expenses incurred by the owner are to be found in his early ledgers, still in the files of the firm that he established, ac-

ording to an article in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for May 8. Among the entries, for example, is an inventory of the stock with which Morgan opened business in Winona. He reveals, too, that he repaired watches for some of the city's prominent pioneers, that he began to advertise in the local papers in 1863, and that he paid two dollars a week for board.

The history of Collinwood Township in Wright County is the subject of an article by Frank B. Lamson which appears in the *Cokato Enterprise* for April 1. He relates that a town that was platted on the shore of Lake Collinwood failed to develop. A picture of this community in 1868 accompanies the article.

